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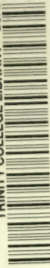
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Chinese Philosophy

BY

DR. PAUL CARUS

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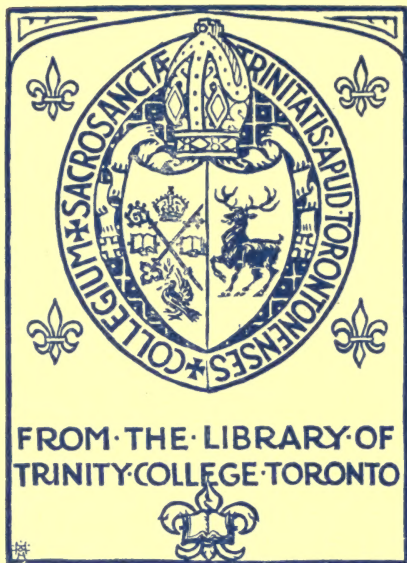
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CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

AN

EXPOSITION OF THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC
FEATURES OF CHINESE THOUGHT

BY

DR. PAUL CARUS

SECOND EDITION



CHICAGO

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THIS essay, which appeared first in *The Monist*, Vol. VI., No. 2, is an exposition of the main characteristic features of Chinese thought: it is a sketch, not an exhaustive treatise, and still less a history of Chinese philosophy. It purports to serve as an introduction to the intricacies of typically Chinese notions, explaining their symbols and revealing their mysteries in terse and intelligible language. The brevity is intentional, for the essay is meant to give a bird's-eye view of the Chinese world-conception.

While appreciating the remarkable genius exhibited by the founders of the Chinese civilisation, the author points out the foibles of the Chinese and traces them to their source. It is noteworthy that in spite of its candid and unreserved criticism, the essay was well received by the Chinese authorities and was granted the rare honor of being recommended by the Tsungli Yamen of Peking, the Imperial Foreign Office.

In reply to a copy of this article forwarded through the American representative to H. M. the Emperor of China, the Tsungli Yamen, returned the following informal communication:

THE TSUNGLI YAMEN TO THE HON. MR. DENBY.

Informal.

PEKIN, May 6th, 1896.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

We have had the honor to receive Your Excellency's note, wherein you state that by particular request you send the Yamen a copy of *The Monist*—an American Magazine. Your Excellency further states that it contains an article on "Chinese Philosophy" and the author asks that it be delivered to H. M. the Emperor.

In reply we beg to state, that the article in question has been translated into Chinese by order of the Yamen and has been duly perused by the members thereof.

The article shows that the writer is a scholar well versed in Chinese literature, and has brought together matters which indicate that he fully understood the subject he has treated.

The book will be placed on file in the archives of the Yamen.

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JUN 23 1952

CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.¹

INTRODUCTORY.

CHINESE philosophy is as peculiar as the Chinese language and Chinese customs, and it is difficult for Western people to understand its nature or to appreciate its paramount influence upon the national character of the Celestial Empire. It is a rare mixture of deep thought and vain speculations, of valuable ideas and useless subtleties. It shows us a noble beginning and a lame progress; a grand start and a dreary stagnation; a promising seed-time and a poor harvest. The heroes of thought who laid its foundations, were so much admired that none dared to excel them, and thus before the grandeur of the original genius which looms up in the pre-historic age, the philosophy of all later generations is dwarfed into timid insignificance.

The Chinese are naturally conservative because their written language is rigid and inflexible, rendering the task of forming new words extremely difficult. And the people who are hampered in forming new words are also hampered in their conception of new ideas and the discovery of new truths. But let us remember that this drawback of the Chinese script is only an incidental consequence of its extraordinary advantages. Consider that whatever changes there may have been in Chinese speech, i. e., in oral language, the Chinese scholars of to-day can read without great difficulty the books that were written two and one-half millenniums ago. Moreover, their ideographic script is more impressive and direct than our phonetic

¹ The Chinese characters that appear in this article were made by Mr. H. H. Clarke of the Stationers' Engraving Company, Chicago, Ill.

method of writing in which the letters must be translated into sound before they can be understood by the reader. Dr. Morrison says in the introductory remarks to his dictionary (p. 11) :

"As sight is quicker than hearing, so ideas reaching the mind by the eye are quicker, more striking, and vivid, than those which reach the mind by the slower progress of sound. The character forms a picture which really is, or, by early associations is considered, beautiful and impressive. The Chinese fine writing darts upon the mind with a vivid flash ; a force and a beauty, of which alphabetic language is incapable."

But it is not the rigidity of their language alone that is at the basis of the Chinese conservatism, it is also the simplicity of the fundamental ideas of their world-view and the striking symbolism in which they are expressed and which makes it impossible for the Chinese to think in any other modes of thought than their own. The inviolable power of their tradition is further strengthened by an imperturbable patience and unbounded reverence for the sages of yore. The former renders the people submissive to many unheard-of abuses on the part of the authorities, while the latter keeps them in faithful adhesion to established conditions.

From time immemorial the highest ideal of Chinese thinkers has been to bow in modesty and submission to the insuperable grandeur of their ancient traditions. Criticism is very meek, originality of thought is strangled ere it can develop, and any attempted progress beyond the old masters appears to them as insanity. It is as if a Christian would dare to be better or wiser than Christ. In a word, the whole Chinese civilisation is saturated with the belief in the divinity, the perfection, and the unqualified excellence of its principles, doctrines, and institutions.

In the following pages we shall attempt to delineate in large outlines the philosophy that underlies the Chinese civilisation, and we hope that it will not only enable the reader to comprehend how the Chinese are hampered by their mode of notation in both their thought-symbols and their language, but that he will also learn to appreciate the causes which produce Chinese conservatism. For, indeed, there is in the Chinese world-conception so much that appeals to us as self-evident and on a *priori* consideration as a matter

of course, that we can understand how difficult it is for the Chinese to free themselves from the rigid forms of their traditions and adapt themselves to the more plastic modes of Western thought.

THE YANG 陽 AND THE YIN 陰

The ancient Chinese were distinguished by a mathematical turn of mind. For, while the literature of all other nations begins with religious hymns and mythological lore of some kind, the oldest documents of the Chinese exhibit arithmetical devices, two among which are known as the 河圖 *Ho T'u*¹ and the 洛書 *Loh shu*, "the map of the Ho,² or [yellow] River" and "the writing of the (river) Loh."

All Chinese scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the map of the Ho and the writing of the Loh agree in adopting a dualistic system, which conceives the world as the product of 陽 YANG and 陰 YIN.³ Yang means "bright," and Yin "dark." Yang is the principle of heaven, Yin is the principle of earth. Yang is the sun, Yin is the moon. Yang is, as we should say, positive; Yin is negative. Yang is, as the Chinese say, masculine and active; Yin is feminine and passive. The former is motion, the latter is rest. Yang is strong, rigid, lordlike; Yin is mild, pliable, submissive, wifelike. Yang was originally represented by a small, bright circle (○), Yin by a small, dark circle (●), but in their combinations these symbols were replaced by full and broken lines, "—" and "--."

The symbols of Yang and Yin are called the two *I* or "elementary forms," and the four combinations of the two *I* in twos are called the four Figures or Siang.⁴ They are as follows:⁵

¹ The *spiritus asper* in T'u indicates that the T must be pronounced with a certain vigor or emphasis. French and German sinologists spell "Thu," which transcription, however, is misleading in English.

² Ho, the River, stands for *Hoang Ho*, the yellow river.

³ 陽 shows the symbols "place" and "spreading"; 陰 is "the shady side of a hill."

⁴ See Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pp. 293 and 309.

⁵ *Yih King*, App. V., Chap. VII.






the great Yang the small Yin the small Yang the great Yin

Groups of three or more elementary forms are called *Kwa*¹ 卦

The eight possible trigrams, or permutations of three I, possess their own names and meanings, which (according to Legge) are as follows :

KWA	NAMES		STANDING FOR	REPRESENTED BY THE
1		ch'ien. Heaven or sky.	Strength.	Horse.
2		tui. Lake (water collected in a basin).	Pleasure or satisfaction.	Goat.
3		li. Fire (the sun or lightning).	Brightness.	Pheasant.
4		chan. Thunder.	Energy or mobility.	Dragon.
5		siuen. Wind.	Penetration.	Bird.
6		k'ân. Moon, streams of water in motion, clouds, rain.	Sinking down, danger.	Pig.
7		kan. Mountain.	Arrest, standstill.	Dog.
8		kw'un. Earth.	Compliance or docility.	Ox.

All the things in the world, man included, are thought to be compounds of Yang and Yin elements. In this way the Chinese philosophy has become a theory of permutation, and the origin of all things is traced to a change in the combinations of Yang and Yin.

FUH-HI 伏羲 AND YÜ 禹

As to the map of the Ho and the writing of the Loh, we must state at once that nothing definite is known concerning their original form and significance. Only this much is safe to say, that tradition unanimously connects the former with 伏羲 *Fuh-hi*, the first emperor of China and the legendary founder of the Chinese civilisa-

¹ The character 卦 shows on the left-hand side "baton," on the right "to divine."

tion (about 3322 B. C., according to another calculation about 2800 B. C.), and the latter with 禹 Yü the Great (about 2200 B. C.), the founder of the second Chinese dynasty.

We are told of a great deluge that devastated the country under the virtuous Yao, the last emperor but one of the first dynasty; and that Kwen, the Minister of Works, labored in vain to control the waters. Kwen was banished for life to Mount Yü in 2286 B. C., while his duties were intrusted to his son, Yü, who at last, after nine years, in 2278 B. C., succeeded in draining the floods. Emperor Shun, the son-in-law and successor of Emperor Yao, in disregard of his own sons, raised Yü to the position of joint regent in 2224 B. C., and bequeathed to him the empire. When Shun, in 2208 B. C., died, Yü observed a three years' period of mourning, whereupon he assumed the government, in 2205 B. C.

Much may be legendary in the records of the ancient history of the Chinese, but there is no doubt that Yao, Shun, and Yü are historical personages. They represent an epoch of civilisation which, probably in more than one respect, has never been reached again by the Chinese. Public works, such as regulating the course of great rivers, were undertaken, and the sciences of mathematics and astronomy flourished. Eclipses of the sun and moon were calculated; we know that the brothers Hi and Ho observed and calculated the planetary revolutions;¹ and we possess in the Shu King documents that give evidence of manliness and moral stamina. There is, for instance, the speech² delivered by Yü's worthy son and successor, Ch'ü, at Kan in 2197 B. C., which reminds us of Frederick the Great's famous address to his generals before the battle of Leuthen. No wonder that these days of pristine glory are still remembered in the proverbial expression, "the heaven of Yao and the sun of Shun," which denotes the highest prosperity imaginable.

If the Map of Ho 河圖 and the Writing of Loh 洛書 are not to be attributed to the Emperors Fu-Hi and Yü personally, we can safely trust the old tradition, at least so far as to say, that

¹ Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, Part I., No. 900.

² *Sacred Books of the East*, III., pp. 76-78.

these two documents (whatever their nature may have been) belong to the ages represented by Fu-Hi and Yü.

THE YIH 易 AND THE KWA 卦

The ancient kwa-philosophy, as we may call the system of comprehending things as permutations of the two principles Yang and Yin, plays an important rôle in the thoughts of the Chinese people and forms even to-day the basis of their highest religious conceptions, their scientific notions, and their superstitions. With its help the origin of the world is explained, rules of conduct are laid down and a forecast of the future is made.

As to the original meaning of the kwa-philosophy, we have positive evidence of its mathematical character, not only in various suggestions of Chinese traditions, but also and mainly in the nature of the kwa themselves. It is to be regretted, however, that in times of war and civil disorder the historical connexion was interrupted. Says Chu Hi in his introduction to Cheu-tsz' 's T'ai Kih T'u:¹

"After the Cheu (dynasty) [which ruled 1122-255 B. C.] perished and Meng-Kho died, the tradition of this doctrine was not continued.

"When further the T'sin were succeeded by the Han, passing the T'sin, Sin, and T'ang, so as to arrive at our Sung [the dynasty under which Chu Hi lived] and the five planets met in the K'wei (constellation) so as to usher in an age of science and erudition, the sage [Cheu-tsz'] came."

The oldest work of Chinese literature which embodies the philosophy of Yang and Yin is the Yih King (or simply the 易 Yih), i. e., the book of permutations.²

In the Yih King we find the eight trigrammatic kwa combined into groups of hexagrammatic kwa, resulting in eight times eight or sixty-four permutations, every one of which has its peculiar name and significance. To the sixty-four permutations of the kwa hexa-

¹ See Gabelentz's German edition of the T'ai Kih T'u, p. 14.

² 經 (king) signifies a classical book of canonical authority; and 易 (yih) means "permutation"; the character shows the sun above the moon, the latter in its archaic form. The translation "change," which is commonly adopted by sinologists, does not always convey the right idea.

grams an explanatory text is added consisting of seven lines.¹ The first line, written by Wen Wang,² applies to the hexagram as a whole, and the remaining six, written by Cheu Kung,³ have reference to the six sundry lines of the hexagram, counting the lowest line as the first and the topmost as the sixth. The full lines, representing Yang, are called 九 *kiu*; the broken lines, representing Yin, are called 六 *luh*.⁴ There can be no doubt about it that in its present form the Yih King is chiefly used for the purpose of divination.

The most ancient commentaries of the Yih King have been appended to the book in the shape of three double and four simple additions called the Ten Wings. The first addition of two sections, called T'wan is commonly ascribed to Wen Wang, the second called Siang, to his son, Cheu Kung, while the rest belong to later periods, containing expositions ascribed to Confucius.

The Yih King is one of the most enigmatic books on earth, the mystery of which is considered by many beyond all hope of solution; and yet it exercises even to-day a greater influence over the minds of the Chinese than does the Bible in Christian countries. Its divine authority is undisputed and every good Chinese is confident that it contains the sum of all earthly wisdom. There is no Chinese scholar who cherishes the least doubt that there is any truth in science or philosophy that could not be found in, and rationally developed from, the Yih King.

The oldest mention of the Book of Permutations is made in the official records of the Cheu dynasty, which succeeded the Yin dynasty in 1122 B.C. There three versions of the Yih are mentioned. We read:

¹The first and second kwa are exceptions. They possess an additional eighth line, which refers to all the six I together.

²*Wen* means "scholar," or "scholarly," i. e., "he who pursues the arts of peace." *Wang* means "king." Wen Wang received the posthumous title *Si Peh*, i. e., "Chief of the West." His proper name is *Ch'ang*; but as it is not respectful to use the proper name, he is commonly called "Wen Wang."

³*Kung* means "duke." *Cheu Kung* (i. e., the Duke of Cheu) was the fourth son of Wen Wang; his proper name is *Tan*.

⁴The original meaning of 九 *kiu* is "nine," of 六 *luh* "six,"

"The Grand Diviner had charge of the rules for the three Yih (systems of permutation), called the Lien-shan, the Kwei ts'ang and the Yih of Cheu; in each of them the primary figures were eight which were multiplied in each till they amounted to sixty-four."—*Sacred Books of the East*, XVI, p. 3.

The third mentioned version of the Yih is ascribed to Wen Wang, 1231–1135 B. C.), and his son Cheu Kung (1169–1116).¹

Wen Wang, a man of unusual piety and stern justice, was the most powerful vassal of the last ruler of the house of Yin,² called 紂 辛 Cheu Sin, "the dissolute tyrant." When Wen Wang had excited the wrath of Cheu Sin and of his equally brutal consort, Ta-Ki, by expressing disapproval of some of their atrocities, he was imprisoned, but after three years released through the intercession of his son Fâ, afterward called Wu Wang.³ The latter sent rich presents to Cheu Sin and with them a beautiful girl, for whose sake the tyrant gladly acceded to the requests of Fâ.⁴ While in prison at Yew Li, in 1143 B. C., Wen Wang studied the hexagrams of Fuh-Hi, and comforted himself with the propitious prophecies which he believed he discovered in their mysterious lines.

When Wen Wang died, Fâ inherited his father's kingdom. Meanwhile the tyranny of his suzerain, Cheu Sin became so intolerable that even the tyrant's own brother K'î, the prince of Wêi, fled to his court and appeared before him with an iron chain round his neck. After this event no choice was left Wu Wang. He had either to betray the confidence of K'î or to resist the unrighteous tyranny of Cheu Sin. In the spring of the year 1121 B.C. he offered a solemn sacrifice to Shang Tî, the Lord on High,⁵ and marched against his suzerain. He crossed the Hoang-Ho at the ford of

¹ The ancient rulers of China are called emperors or Tî; but the rulers of the dynasty Hia preferred the more modest title of King or Wang.

² The Yin dynasty is also named Shang.

³ Fâ, surnamed Wu Wang (i. e. the war king), was the oldest son of Wen Wang.

⁴ Cheu Sin (the dissolute tyrant) is a posthumous title. His proper name is "Show." The word "Cheu" in the name Cheu Sin is not the same word as the name of the principality of "Cheu," after which the Cheu dynasty is called.

⁵ 上 (shang) "above," "high in heaven," or "supreme," 帝 (tî) Lord emperor, sovereign. The etymology of "tî" is doubtful.

Meng-tsin and gained a decisive victory in the plain of Muh. Cheu Sin shut himself up in his palace, at Luh T'ai, ordered his servants to set it on fire and died in its flames in the year 1122 B. C. Thus the Yin dynasty was superseded by the Cheu dynasty. Cheu Kung, Wu Wang's younger but more famous brother, contributed much toward the consolidation of the Cheu dynasty as chief counsellor, first of Wu Wang and then of Ch'ung, i. e., "the Perfecter," his imperial nephew and successor to the throne after Wu Wang's death.¹

There seems to be no question that the founders of the Cheu dynasty revised and rearranged the traditional Kwa systems; and the Yih of Cheu, is according to undisputed tradition, the Book of Permutations which is extant to-day.

Tradition preserves two schemes of the eight trigrams in the shape of a mariner's compass-card, in which south is always top-most. The older scheme is ascribed to Fuh-Hi, and the later one to Wen Wang. Their arrangements are as follows:

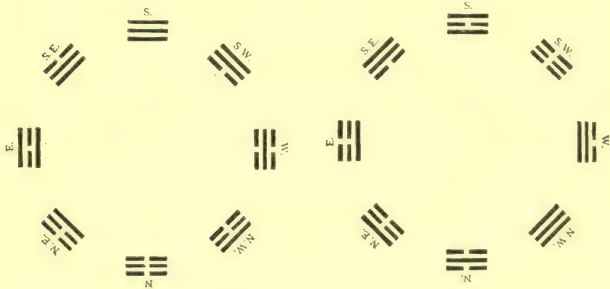


FIG. 1. THE TRIGRAM ACCORDING TO FUH-HI.

FIG. 2. THE TRIGRAM ACCORDING TO WEN WANG

Fuh-Hi's table shows the Yang and Yin symbols evenly balanced, so that each couple of opposed kwa is made up of three full and three broken lines.

We are unable to say why Wen Wang changed the more natural order of the Fuh-Hi system. Probably he argued that if the world were arranged in the evenly balanced way of the traditional scheme,

¹ See Victor Strauss's German translation of the *Shi-King*, pp. 39-44.

it would not move, but remain at rest. Thus he naturally might have come to the conclusion that change which is the condition of the actual universe can only be due to a displacement of the regularly arranged order which would represent the elements of existence in a state of equilibrium.

One of the arrangements of the hexagrams that are met with in all the larger editions of the Yih King, consists, as can be seen in the appended diagram, of a square surrounded by a circle.

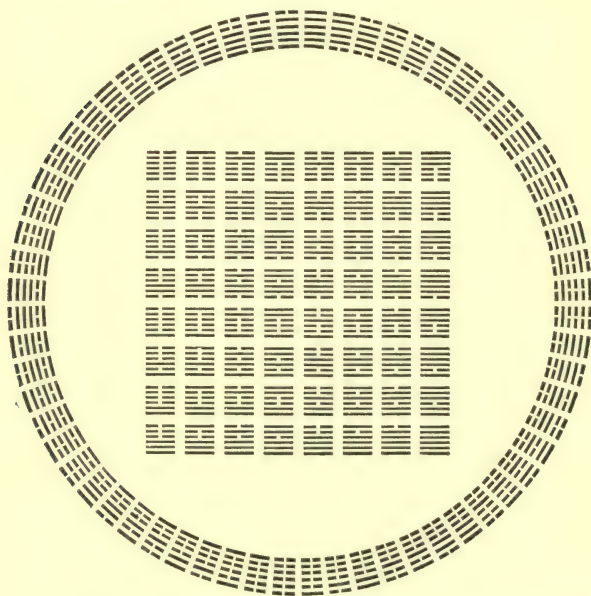


FIG. 3. THE KWA OF FUH-HI ARRANGED IN SQUARE AND CIRCLE.

In the square the sixty-four permutations of the hexagrams are arranged in the order of what may be called their natural succession; that is to say, on substituting for broken lines zero (0), and for full lines the figure "1," we can read the hexagrams as a series of numbers from 0 to 63, written in the binary system. The topmost figure in the left corner represents zero, i. e. 000000; and reading from

the left to the right, we have 1, i. e. 000001; 2, i. e. 000010; 3, i. e. 000011; 4, i. e. 000100; etc., until 111111, which, in the decimal system, is 63.

The circle contains the same symbols so arranged that those which diametrically face one another yield always the sum of 63. Thus heaven, i. e. ☰ or 63, and earth, i. e. ☷ or zero, are, the former at the top, the latter at the bottom of the circle. Beginning with zero at the bottom, the numbers ascend from 1 to 32, after which they reach, in the topmost place, opposite the zero, the number 63; thence they descend to the right in backward order from 62 to 31, which is the neighbor of zero.

Chinese authors inform us that the square represents the earth, while the circle that surrounds the square symbolises heaven.

There is another arrangement of the hexagrams, as follows :

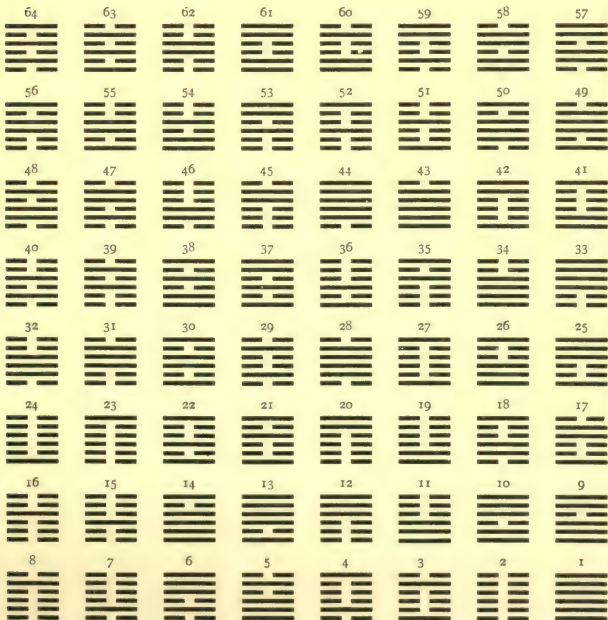


FIG. 4. THE HEXAGRAMS ACCORDING TO WEN WANG.

Beginning from the right on the bottom line, the sixty-four kwa¹ are arranged in the order of the Cheu version, ascribed to King Wen. The design exhibits in the even columns the inverse arrangement of the kwa of the odd columns, with this exception, that whenever an inversion would show the same figure, all the Yang lines are replaced by Yin lines, and *vice versa*.

Thus the hexagram No. 44, called "Kân" ䷛ is the inverted hexagram No. 43, called "Kwâi" ䷛, while "K'ien," ䷀ in No. 1, is changed into "Kw'an" ䷁ in No. 2.

¹The names and significance of the several hexagrams depend upon the combination of the two trigrams of which each one consists. Thus, No. 1 is "sky" upon "sky," viz., the active principle doubled, which means great and successful display of energy. No. 2 is "earth" upon "earth"; the receptive principle doubled, which means, great receptivity, fertility, stability. No. 3 is "rain" above "thunder," means fulness, boding prosperity to those who are constant, but threatening impending danger to those who venture to move, etc. No. 49 is "water" above "fire," which means contrasts that confront one another; to boil; to transform (implying that fire changes the nature of water).

The names of the hexagrams, according to a Japanese authority (in the Ta-ka-shima-ekidan), interpreted in the sense given by Western sinologists, mainly by Harlez (in his Yih King), are as follows: 1. *K'ien*, sky, success; 2. *kw'un*, earth, stability; 3. *chun*, fulness; 4. *meng*, infancy, growth; 5. *hsü*, expectancy, danger; 6. *song*, litigation, lawsuit; 7. *szê*, an army or a commander; 8. *p'i*, friendship; 9. *hsiao chuh*, being clouds but no rain, little progress; 10. *li*, to march; 11. *T'ai* penetration, no obstruction; 12. *p'ei*, obstruction, to be besieged; 13. *thong zhün* union, fellowship; 14. *tai yu*, great, power; 15. *k'ien*, condescension; 16. *yü*, satisfaction, grandeur, majesty; 17. *sui*, faithfulness, obedience; 18. *ku*, care, business, agitation; 19. *lin*, dignity, authority; 20. *kwen*, manifestation, show, appearance; 21. *shí hoh*, slander, censure; 22. *p'i*, embellishment, flash of light; 23. *poh*, oppression, deprivation; 24. *fâh*, reaction, return; 25. *wâ wang*, openness, sincerity; 26. *tai ch'uh*, accumulation; 27. *t*, to sustain, to feed; 28. *ta kwo*, rising of the great; 29. *k'an*, difficulties; 30. *li*, brilliancy; 31. *hien*, harmony; 32. *hang*, endurance; 33. *t'un*, to retreat, to live in obscurity; 34. *ta chuang*, great strength; 35. *ts'in*, to advance; 36. *ming t*, descent, eclipse, stars; 37. *kiâ zhün*, family; 38. *k'wei*, opposition, contrariety; 39. *kiên*, difficulty; 40. *kieh*, escape, deliverance; 41. *sun*, to abate, to lessen; 42. *yêh*, aggrandizement, gain; 43. *kudî*, dispersion, distribution; 44. *k'ü*, to meet; 45. *tsui*, to assemble; 46. *shang*, to ascend; 47. *k'wan*, distress; 48. *tsing*, a well; 49. *koh*, water over fire, to renew, to transform; 50. *ting*, fire over wood, caldron; 51. *chan*, thunder, terror; 52. *kan*, firmness; 53. *chien*, to inchoate, to move apace; 54. *kuei*, to give in marriage; 55. *fang*, wealth; 56. *lû*, a stranger, a traveller; 57. *sün*, pliability, meekness; 58. *tui*, rejoicing; 59. *hwân*, to flow over, to squander; 60. *chieh*, law, moderation; 61. *chung*, the right way, in the middle; 62. *hsiao kwô*, excess in small things; 63. *ki tsi*, consummation; 64. *wei tsi*, non-consummation.

[The translation of the names of the sixty-four kwa, as given here, only approximately agrees with the system elsewhere employed in this article.]

* If regarded as binary numbers, the order of King Wen's square reads in decimal numbers as follows :

21	42	12	51	50	19	54	27
13	44	52	11	9	36	29	46
26	22	24	6	31	62	35	49
20	10	53	43	40	5	60	15
28	14	45	18	30	33	57	39
32	1	41	37	3	48	25	38
4	8	61	47	7	56	55	59
2	16	13	58	17	34	0	63

THE MILFOIL 蓍 AND THE SPIRIT TORTOISE 神龜

The divining stalks¹ and the tortoise-shell have been in use in China for the purpose of divination from time immemorial, for the practice of divination is mentioned in the oldest documents of the Shu King,² where Yü recommends "the trial by divination."

The outfit for divining 筮 by the stalks of 蓍 the divining plant (*Ptarmica Sibirica*) consists of six little oblong blocks (like toy construction-blocks) being, on two sides, divided by an incision after the pattern of the broken line of Yin and smooth like Yang lines on the two remaining sides; further, of fifty wooden stalks, a little thicker than knitting-needles. The six blocks represent Yang lines if the smooth side, and Yin lines if the incision, is uppermost. The method of divination as prescribed by the Book of Eki in the Takashima Ekidan (Keigyosha, Tokio, 1895), is as follows :

"First of all, wash your hands and mouth, clean your body, and sit perfectly aright in a quiet room, and then you may take hold of the 'sticks' very reverently. Fifty sticks make a complete set, and it must be remembered that they are the holy implements which reveal the will of the Almighty through their mathematical changes. Take out any single stick and let it stand in the stickholder,

¹Shi tsao 筮草 the "divining plant" is a species of shi 蓍 "milfoil," or "yarrow," the same plant which is cultivated at the tomb of Confucius. The symbol "milfoil" is composed of the three characters "plant" on the top, "old man" in the middle, and "mouth" or "to speak" at the bottom.

²Part II., Book II., § 2; *Sacred Books of the East*, III., p. 50.

which is to be placed on the centre of the table. This particular one is referred to the '*Great Origin*.' Hold the lower ends of the remaining forty-nine in your left hand, and slightly dovetail the upper ends. Apply your right-hand fingers to the middle of the sticks, the thumb being nearest to you or from inside, and the other fingers to be applied from outside. Lift the whole thing above your forehead. Now turn your sole attention to the affair to be divined, close your eyes, suspend your breath, make yourself solemn and pure, be sure that you are in interview with the Almighty to receive his order, and further, do not diversify your thoughts to anything else. At the moment when your purity of heart is at its apex, divide the sticks into any two groups with your right-hand thumb. The division must not be voluntary.

"It must be observed here that the moment when the purity of one's heart is at its apex is, in other words, the moment when one communicates with the Almighty. The feeling at the moment of the communication is impossible to describe, being like that which one feels when electric currents flow through his limbs. It is absolutely necessary that one shall divide his sticks at the very instant when he feels the feeling specified. This point of communication baffles every trial of description, the only way of acquiring the exact idea being through a continued practice and consequent dexterity of the student.

"Now, the set of the sticks is in two groups, which correspond to the '*Heaven and Earth*,' or '*Positive and Negative*,' in the terms of the '*Eki*.' Place the right-hand group on the table, and take out one from the group. This one is to be held between the ring finger and the little finger of the left hand; the figures being that of the '*Three Figures*,' namely, '*Heaven, Earth, and Mankind*.' Count the left-hand group with your right hand: it is to be counted in cycles, each cycle being four times two by two, or eight sticks per cycle. When any number of cycles has been finished, there will remain a number of sticks less than eight, including the one on the little finger. This remainder gives a complement of the destined diagram.

"If one remains you have 'Ken' (☰).

"If two remain you have 'Da' (☱).

"If three remain you have 'Ri' (☲).

"If four remain you have 'Shin' (☳).

"If five remain you have 'Son' (☴).

"If six remain you have 'Kan' (☵).

"If seven remain you have 'Gon' (☶).

"If eight or naught remains you have 'Kon' (☷).¹

"These are the eight emblems of '*Heaven*,' '*Pond*,' '*Fire*,' '*Thunder*,' '*Wind*,' '*Water*,' '*Mountain*,' and '*Earth*' in their order. The trigram corresponding to the present remainder is called the '*Inner Complement*,' and is to be placed at the

¹ Here the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese terms is preserved.

bottom of the diagram. The above-stated process is now to be repeated, and the trigram corresponding to the second remainder is called the 'Outer Complement,' and is to be placed at the top of the diagram. Now you are in possession of a complete diagram of six elements.

"The destined diagram is now before you; the only thing left is to observe the change in the 'elements.'¹ The method of dealing out the sticks is the same as before, except the mode of counting them. Here each cycle consists of six sticks, so that three times two by two are to be counted per cycle. The remainder thus obtained expresses the element to be chosen. If your remainder is one, you have obtained the first element of the diagram; if two, the second element, etc. The order of the elements is numbered from below, that is to say, the bottom element is the first, and the top one the sixth.

"You have now thus obtained an element of a diagram."

Having thus obtained a definite element in a definite hexagram, the diviner turns to the book and reads the sentence belonging to it. This sentence is to him the oracle that he receives in reply to his question, and must be interpreted in the light of the expositions given concerning the whole hexagram. The two most important lines in the hexagrams are the second and the fifth lines, because they constitute the centre of the two trigrams of which the whole is composed. The fifth stroke, representing the efficacy of the upper or heavenly power, is always favorable, and wherever it is obtained, it bodes to the divining person luck and unfailing success.

Divination by the tortoise-shell is in principle the same. In the empty shell of the sacred tortoise, *Shan Kwei*,² which is a small species of *Emys*, three coins are shaken and thrown out in a dice-like manner. According to their showing heads or tails, an element of one of the sixty-four hexagrams is determined, and from a contemplation of the sentence attached to the element of the hexagram, as applied to the given situation, the outcome of the proposed action is anticipated.

The Chinese conception of the spirituality of the divining stalks and the tortoise shell is expressed in the third Appendix of the Yih King as follows :

¹ Viz., "of the particular line in the hexagram."

² 神 *shan*, consists of "divine" and "to extend"; while 龜 *kwei*, is "intended to represent the general appearance of a tortoise" (Williams).

"Therefore heaven produced the spirit-like things,¹ and the sages took advantage of them. (The operations of) heaven and earth are marked by (so many) changes and transformations; and the sages imitated them (by the means of the Yi). Heaven hangs out its (brilliant) figures from which are seen good fortune and bad, and the sages made their emblematic interpretations accordingly."

Divination is practised officially in China by imperial diviners. We read in the counsels of Yü that Shun submitted the question of succession to divination, and abided by its decision in somewhat the same way as among the Israelites problems of grave importance were settled by consulting the oracle of Urim and Thummim.

The seventh division of the Great Plan gives the following instruction to rulers concerning the practice of divination :

"Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the milfoil are to be charged to execute their duties. They will predict rain, clearing up, cloudiness, want of connexion, and disturbances, through the inner and outer diagrams.

"In all there are seven (examinations of doubt) : five given by the shell, and two by the stalks ; and through them all errors can be discovered.

"The officers having been appointed, when the divination is inaugurated, three men are to interpret the indications, and the consensus of two of them is to be followed.

"When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind ; consult with your high ministers and officers ; consult with the common people ; consult with the tortoise-shell and divining stalks.

"If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, it is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants.

"If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers and officers and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate.

"If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate.

"If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate.

"If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky.

"When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky."

¹The divining stalks and the divine tortoise-shell

In justice to the original Chinese conception of divination we must state that it was not intended to discover future events, but to ascertain whether or not certain plans contemplated for execution would be propitious. The tortoise-shell and the stalks are called spiritual, not because they were supposed to be animated by spirits, but because, like books and pens, they can be employed for the fixation and clarification of thought. Sz' Ma, the most skilful diviner in the time of Ts'in (fifteenth century), is reported in the Lin Chi of the Ming dynasty to have said to Shao P'ing :

"What intelligence is possessed by things spiritual ? They are intelligent (only) by their connexion with men. The divining stalks are so much withered grass ; the tortoise-shell is a withered bone. They are but things, and man is more intelligent than things. Why not listen to yourself instead of seeking (to learn) from things ?"

Spiritual accordingly does not mean possessing spirit in the sense of being animated ; it means that which is significant or is possessed of meaning.

THE MAP OF HO 河圖 AND THE WRITING OF LOH 洛書

The first authentic passages in which 河圖 the map of Ho and 洛書 the writing of Loh are mentioned, date as far back as the age of Confucius. We read in the Yih King, Appendix III., 73 :

"The Ho gave forth the map, and the Lo the writing."—*S. B. E.*, XVI., p. 374.

In the Lun Yü (the Confucian Dialogues), V., 7, we read that Confucius said in an hour of dejection :

"The bird Feng does not longer reappear, from the river no map comes up again :¹ I am disappointed in my expectations."

The first author who appears to have given a definite shape to the legends of the map of Ho and the writing of Loh is K'ung Ngan-Kwoh, a descendant of Confucius (second century, B.C.). He

¹ This means in other words that divine revelation by a direct supernatural interference has ceased. The bird Feng (Fig. 6, p. 18) is like the Phoenix a mythical creature whose appearance is said to announce great events. *Feng*, the Chinese Phoenix, and *lung*, the dragon, are favorite subjects of Chinese artists. The female of the Phoenix is called *Hwang*, hence the generic term *Feng-Hwang*, which is the emblem of conjugal happiness. *Lung*, the dragon (Fig. 5, p. 18), is the emblem of power ; hence it is the imperial coat-of-arms.

speaks of the dragon-horse that emerged from the waters of the Yellow River and presented on its back an arrangement of symbols, whence the divine ruler Fuh-Hi, derived his philosophy. Concerning the writing of Loh, K'ung Ngan-Kwoh adds that while Yü was engaged in draining the flood a spirit tortoise appeared to him which "carried on its back a scroll of writing and a system of divisions, in both respects exhibiting the numbers up to nine."

There is but one celebrated Chinese scholar, Ow-yang Sin, who ventured to express disbelief in the legend while the schoolmen of the Sung dynasty devoted themselves to a reconstruction of the



FIG. 5. LUNG, THE DRAGON. (As it appears in the imperial standard.) The lung is "the chief of scaly beings." It symbolises the watery principle of the atmosphere. Cosmogonists mention four kinds. In addition we read of the yellow dragon (the same that emerged from the river Loh) and the azure dragon.



FIG. 6. THE BIRD FENG. (After a Chinese drawing. Reproduced from the *Chinese Repository*.)

map of Ho and the writing of Loh. The schemes that have gradually been accepted are the two diagrams reproduced on p. 19 from a Chinese edition of the Yih King. They were elaborated by Ts'ai Yuen-Ting who lived under the Hwei Tsung dynasty (1101-1125 A. D.).

The Ho T'u, or map of the Ho, according to Ts'ai Yuen-Ting, shows the odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 in white dots or Yang symbols, and the even numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 in dark dots or Yin symbols. (See Fig. 7.) This is based upon the theory of the Confucian commentary of the Yih King, which reads as follows :

"The number 1 belongs to heaven ; to earth, 2 ; to heaven, 3 ; to earth, 4 ; to heaven, 5 ; to earth, 6 ; to heaven, 7 ; to earth, 8 ; to heaven, 9 ; to earth, 10.

"The numbers belonging to heaven are five, and those belonging to earth are five. The numbers of these two series correspond to each other (in their fixed positions), and each one has another that may be considered its mate. The heavenly

numbers amount to 25, and the earthly to 30. The numbers of heaven and earth together amount to 55. It is by these that the changes and transformations are effected, and the spirit-like agencies kept in movement."

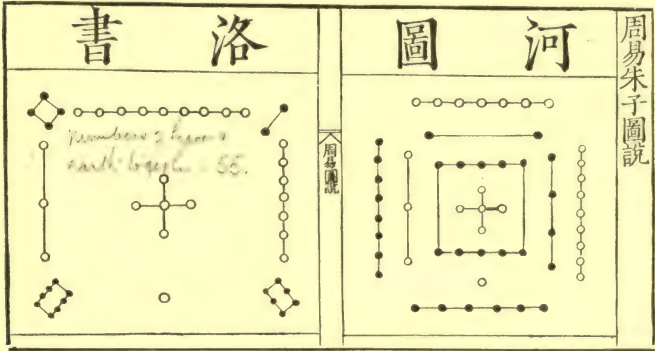


FIG. 8. THE WRITING OF LOH.

FIG. 7. THE MAP OF THE HO.

(According to Ts'ai Yüang-ting; reproduced from a Chinese edition of the Yih King.)

The arrangement of the twenty-five positive or Yang and thirty negative or Yin elements, is such as to make five the difference in each group of dots. When we substitute for Yang +, and for Yin —, the Map of the Ho appears as follows :

	$\begin{array}{r} +7-2 \\ =+5 \end{array}$	
$\begin{array}{r} -8+3 \\ =-5 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} -10+5 \\ =-5 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} +9-4 \\ =+5 \end{array}$
	$\begin{array}{r} -6+1 \\ =-5 \end{array}$	

The writing of Loh, reproduced (Fig. 8) from the same source, consists of a magic square as follows :

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

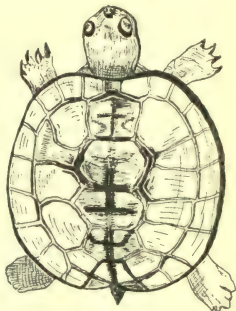
The sum of each line of three numbers in any direction, vertically, horizontally, and diagonally, is fifteen.

Although these two arithmetical devices of the map of Ho and the writing of Loh according to Ts'ai Yuen-Ting are spoken of as commonly accepted, we find another and almost more popular scheme of unknown origin and perhaps of greater antiquity, according to which the map of Ho on the back of the river-horse is said to exhibit the eight kwa, as represented in the adjoining illustration (see Fig. 9), and the writing of Loh on the back of the tortoise is identified with the five elements (see Fig. 10).

The inscription above the dragon horse reads from the right to the left "Lung ma fu t'u," i. e. dragon horse carrying map.



FIG. 9. THE DRAGON HORSE CARRYING THE MAP.

FIG. 10. THE TORTOISE WITH THE WRITING.¹

The five elements 五行² according to Chinese notions, are water, wood, fire, metal, and earth.³

水 木 火 金 土

¹ Drawn after the photograph of a specimen in the possession of Dr. H. Riedel. The writing of the five elements which might be similarly traced in various ways, is unduly emphasised, for the purpose of showing it at a glance.

² 行 *hing* = "element" exhibits two characters, "a step with the left foot," and "a step with the right foot," which combined denote "motion." The elements, accordingly, are "the moving ones," or "the active agents."

³ 水 *shui*, 木 *muh*, 火 *hwo*, 金 *kin*, and 土 *T'u*. *Shui* = "water" is in its original form the picture of three ripples; *muh* = "wood," the picture of a tree with its roots; *hwo* = "fire" represents an ascending flame; *T'u* = "earth" denotes the place on which to stand; and *kin* = "metal or gold" is said to contain the character *T'u* = "earth," because the metals come from the ground.

They were, in old Chinese characters,¹ written as follows:



We need little imagination to trace these characters on the shell of a tortoise, such as sketched in the drawing on page 20 (Fig. 10).

The five elements play a very important part in the thoughts of the Chinese. In their symbolical significance they represent the properties or actions that appear to be inherent in them. Their conception is of considerable antiquity, for it is mentioned in the Great Plan of the Shu King.

Tseu Yen, a philosopher who lived in the fourth century before Christ, is reported to have composed treatises on cosmogony and the influences of the five elements. Other sages who wrote on the same subject are Liu Hiang of the first century before Christ, and Pan Ku of the first century after Christ.

When an idea has once gained a foothold in the Chinese mind, it stays. Such is the case with the notion of the five elements, which forms an ineradicable part of the Chinese world-view, so that even Cheu-tsz', the most independent thinker of later generations, embodied it in his philosophy.

THE GREAT PLAN 洪範 IN NINE DIVISIONS 九疇

The Count of Chi, the grand master at the court of Shang, in the time of the tyrant Cheu Sin, said once that if ruin overtook the house of Shang, he would never be the servant of another dynasty. Having displeased Cheu Sin, he was put into prison, and when the former died in the flames of his burning palace, his conqueror, Wu Wang, released the grand master from prison, but the latter, faithful to his vow, refused to acknowledge his liberator as the legitimate sovereign of China. Wu Wang, honoring the independent spirit of the Count, allowed him to leave the country for Corea, and invested him with that territory. Hereupon the Count felt constrained to appear at the court of Cheu, when consulted by

¹ In the so-called seal characters, the forms of *shui* and *muh* appear less angular and are rounded at the corners.

Wu Wang on the principles of government, and communicated to him the 洪範 Great Plan,¹ with its nine divisions. Its translator, Professor Legge, says:

"The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation,—the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government."

The Great Plan is preserved among the documents of Cheu, but it is generally supposed to be of much older date. Says Legge:

"That the larger portion of it had come down from the times of Hsiâ is not improbable. The use of the number nine and other numbers, and the naming of the various divisions of the Plan, are in harmony with Yü's style and practice in his Counsels. We are told in the introductory sentences that Heaven or God gave the Plan with its divisions to Yü."

The Great Plan is interesting as a sample of Chinese philosophy. Its metaphysical basis consists in a mystical play with numbers, the reasons of which can no longer be fully appreciated; it contains a great many confused notions of physics, mixed with divination and astrology, and in addition some very practical injunctions for the moral conduct of rulers. The nine divisions² of the Great Plan are as follows:

1. The five elements.—They are characterised as follows:

"The nature of water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked or straight; of metal, to yield and change; of the earth, to receive seeds and yield harvests. That which soaks and descends becomes salty; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is now crooked and now straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acid; and from seed-sowing and harvesting comes sweetness."

2. Reverent attention to the five points of conduct.—It prescribes (1) for deportment, a reverent attitude, (2) for speech, pro-

¹ 洪 *hung*, literally "vast, immense," but in connexion with 範 *fan*=plan, the word is commonly translated "great." The character consists of "water," which is the same radical as in the names *Ho* and *Loh*, and of "all," its original significance being "inundation." See Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, p. 236.

² 冊 *ch'eu* (division) consists of "field" and "long life."

priety, (3) for seeing, clearness of vision, (4) for hearing, distinction, (5) for thinking, acumen. By the observation of these five points of conduct will be insured (1) gravity, (2) decorum, (3) circumspection, (4) discernment, (5) wisdom.

3. Earnest devotion to the eight objects of government.—They are (1) the provision of food for the people, (2) the acquisition of wealth, (3) the performance of sacrifices, (4) the regulation of labor, (5) the organisation of instruction, (6) the suppression of crime, (7) the entertainment of guests, and (8) the maintenance of the army.

4. The five arrangers of time.—They are (1) the year, (2) the moon, (3) the sun, (4) the planets and the zodiacal divisions, and (5) calendar calculations.

5. The ideal of royal perfection.—It is characterised in the following lines :

“ Without deflection, without halting,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish preference,
Pursue the royal way.
Without selfish prejudice,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;—
Broad and long is the royal way.
Avoid partiality, avoid deflection ;—
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness :—
Correct and straight is the royal way.
(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.

“ This ideal of royal perfection is unalterable and implies a command ;—yea, it is a command of the Lord on High.

“ All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this ideal of perfect excellence, will, by carrying it into practice, partake of the glory of the Son of Heaven. They will say: ‘ The Son of Heaven is the father of the people, and the sovereign of all nations under the sky.’ ”

6. The three virtues of a ruler are righteousness, severity, and clemency. The first must be practised in times of tranquillity, the second serves to put down disorder, and the third applies to high-minded persons.

7. The examination of doubts prescribes the directions of divination, as explained above. (See p. 16.)

8. The eight ways of verification are astrological rules for the prevention of misfortunes. Rain, sunshine, heat, cold, and wind must be seasonable, lest evil originate. Gravity in deportment produces rain, propriety sunshine, prudence heat, circumspection cold, and wisdom wind, each in season. The king should examine the year, the ministers the months, the officers the days, in order to insure peace and prosperity. If the seasonableness is interrupted, there will be failure of crops and misgovernment. If great men are kept in obscurity, there will be unrest. The chapter concludes: "The stars should be observed by the people at large. Some stars love wind, and others love rain; the courses of the sun and moon determine winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars produces wind and rain."

9. The five sources of happiness are (1) long life, (2) riches, (3) health and equanimity, (4) virtue, and (5) obedience to the will of heaven; and the six sources of misery are (1) shortness of life, (2) sickness, (3) anxiety, (4) poverty, (5) wickedness, and (6) lack of character.¹

In spite of its lack of system and its diverse aberrations from the straight path of sound logic, the Great Plan has exercised, on account of its moral ingredients, a beneficial influence upon the development of China. Yet even here there is a drawback, in so far as the basis of Chinese ethics consists merely in reverence for the past, for parents, and for authority in any form; it lacks the most essential elements that give character to conduct, which are independence of thought, the courage of individual responsibility, and bold progressiveness.

THE T'AI KIH, 太極 THE ULTIMATE GROUND OF EXISTENCE.

The insufficiency of the dualism which finds expression in this contrast of the Yang and Yin principles, must have made itself felt

¹ It is hard to understand why in one case there are five, and in an other six sources.

very early, for the Chinese philosophy, as it appears in all the classics, exhibits a decided tendency towards monism. The Yang and Yin are thought to have originated in a process of differentiation from the T'ai Kih, which is "the grand origin," *der Urgrund*, the source of existence; Gabelentz translates it, *das Urprinzip*, Legge and other English sinologists, "the grand terminus," or "the grand extreme." Its symbol is a circle, thus ○.

The word T'ai, 太 "great" or "grand," is akin to Ta, 大 "great" or "large"; it implies that the greatness is not of size, but of dignity.

Gabelentz defines the word 極 Kih¹ as follows:

"Kih originally signified, as is indicated by its radical (which is No. 75, 'tree,' or 'wood'), the ridge-pole in the gable of a house. Because it is the topmost part of the building, the term is used of all topmost and extreme points. Since we cannot go beyond the top of the gable, but only cross over to descend on the other side of the roof, Kih means 'goal,' or 'turning-point.' This latter meaning implies the idea of neutrality, which is neither on this nor on that side. As is well known, the Chinese words possess the functions of various parts of speech. Thus Kih, as adverb, means 'very, highly, extremely'; as a verb, 'to reach the goal, to exhaust.'"

The T'ai Kih 太極 is not mentioned in the body of the text of the Yih King, but is commonly believed to be implied in its secret teaching. This opinion appears to have been established as early as the time of Confucius, who is reported to have said:

"Therefore in the Yih is contained the great origin, which produced the two elementary forms [viz., Yang and Yin]. The two elementary forms produced the eight trigrams. The eight trigrams served to determine good and evil, and from their determination was produced the great world."—*Yih King*, App. III., §§ 70-71.

Legge criticises the author of this paragraph, because there is no way of deriving the full and broken lines, representing Yang and Yin, from the circle, and we grant that there is a gap here. The transition from the Yang-and-Yin dualism to the monism of the T'ai Kih did not find its appropriate symbol. Nevertheless, we can understand that the idea necessarily originated. Wang Pi,² a cele-

¹ See also Williams, *S. D. of the Ch. L.*, p. 393.

² Although Wang Pi died at the early age of twenty-four years, his authority in the mystic lore of the Yih King was so great that he is looked upon as the founder of the modern school of divination.—Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, I. I., No. 812.

brated scholar of the Wei dynasty (born 225 A. D.), (as quoted by Legge, *ib.*) says:

"Existence must begin in non-existence, and therefore the Grand Terminus produced the two elementary forms. Thâi K'î [viz. T'ai Kih, the grand terminus] is the denomination of what has no denomination. As it cannot be named, the text takes the extreme point of anything that exists as an analogous term for the Thâi K'î."

Professor Legge adds:

"Expanding Wang's comment, Khung Ying-tâ says: 'Thâi K'î [viz. T'ai Kih] means the original subtle matter, that formed the one chaotic mass before heaven and earth were divided;' and then he refers to certain passages in Lâo-tsze's T'ao-Teh-King, and identifies the Thâi K'î with his T'ao. This would seem to give to Thâi K'î a material meaning. The later philosophers of the Sung school, however, insist on its being immaterial, now calling it lî, the principle of order in nature, now t'ao, the defined course of things, now T'î, the Supreme Power or God, now shan, the spiritual working of God. According to K'ang-tze [Confucius], all these names are to be referred to that of 'Heaven,' of which they express so many different concepts."

We here reproduce a diagram of the evolution of the Kwa from the Great Extreme, which, so far as we know, has never been reproduced in any Western translation of the Yih King.

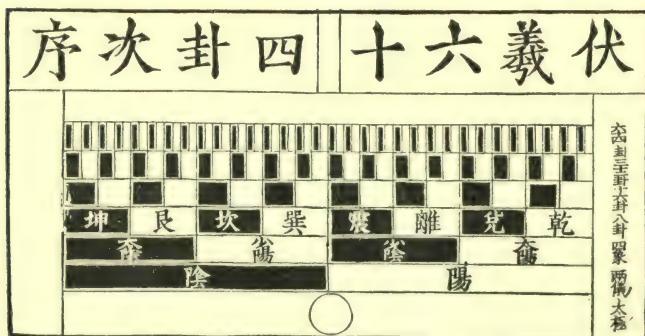


FIG. II. THE DESIGN OF KWA-EVOLUTION FROM THE GREAT EXTREME.
(From a Chinese edition of the Yih King.)

The eight characters of the title in Fig. II read from the right to the left:

伏 Fuh 羲 Hi's 六 six- 十 ty 四 four 卦 Kwa 次 serially
(or in their development) 序 represented.

The marginal notes from below upward read "the great extreme," "the two *I*" (or primordial forms), "the four Siang or figures," "the eight kwa," "the sixteen kwa," "the thirty-two kwa," "the sixty-four kwa."

The inscriptions in the two large black and white rectangles immediately above the circle read from the right to the left "yin" and "yang," in the second line from below consisting of two black and two white rectangles, "the great yin," "the small yang," "the small yin," "the great yang," in the third line "ch'ien, tui, li, chan, siuen, k'ân, kan, and kw'un," which are the names of the eight Kwa, as quoted above. The thirty-two Kwa have no names. The names of the sixty-four hexagrams are written in the Chinese original over the small sixty-four rectangles at the top. They are here omitted because they would have appeared blurred in the present reproduction, which is considerably reduced.

If we fold the diagram in the middle we find that the yin and yang differentiations of the great origin cancel one another and the whole world sinks back into nought. This symbolises the omneity of the zero, which will illustrate what Chinese thinkers mean when they speak with reverence of the great nothing, of emptiness, of non-action, of non-existence, and of Nirvâna. To them it represents the omnipresence of the Deity in the All. It is that which remains unchanged in all changes, the law in apparent irregularity and chaos, the eternal in the transient, the absolute in the relative, the universal in the particular, and rest in motion.

We are not accustomed to negative terms in just this sense, but they are not entirely absent in Western literature. Thus Goethe says:

*" Und alles Drängen, alles Ringen
Ist ew'ge Ruh' in Gott dem Herrn."
[Yet all the strife and all resistance
In God, the Lord, 's eternal rest.]*

THE MONISM OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY, OR CHEU-TSZ' 'S 周子 PHILOSOPHY.

The monism implied in the unitary and ultimate principle of the T'ai Kih was worked out by Cheu Tun-i, commonly called Cheu-



EXPLANATIONS:

Cheu-tsz' says in the T'ai kih t'u:

§ 1. "Having no cause (*Kih* = principle, origin, limit), therefore the grand (original) cause."

[This statement may be compared to Spinoza's theory of the uncaused *causa sui*.]

§ 2. "The grand cause moves, thus producing Yang. Having reached the limit, however, it rests. Resting it produces Yin. Having rested to the limit again, it moves. Once moving, once resting; one state being conditioned by the other. In separation it is (here) Yin, in separation it is (there) Yang. Thus the two fundamental forms (viz. — and —) are fixed."

§ 3. "Yang changes, Yin is added. Thus are produced water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. The five kinds of weather are distributed. The four seasons come forth."

[Fire and wood belong to the Yang, water and metal to the Yin; while earth, standing in the centre, is neutral.]

§ 4. "The five elements if united are Yin and Yang. Yin and Yang if united are the grand cause (*Kih*). The grand cause is without cause. The five elements receive at their origin, each one its own nature."

[The circle indicates that the five elements, when combined, can be regarded as magnitudes of plus and minus which in their sum equal the zero of the T'ai kih.]

§ 5. "The truth of that which has no cause, the efficacy of the Two (viz. the two forms — and —) and of the Five (viz. the five elements) in a wonderful way, now combine and now separate. The K'ien's (☰) norm is male, the Kw'un's (☷) norm is female. Both aspirations quicken one another, and through transformations they produce all things. All things are produced in a process of production. Thus change and transformation are infinite."

1 The "myriads of things" is a common phrase in Chinese, denoting the Universe.

太極圖

FIG. 12. CHEU-TSZ' 'S DIAGRAM OF THE GREAT ORIGIN. [After Von Gabelentz.]

tsz', i. e. Cheu the Sage, who lived 1017-1073. We do not hesitate to say that Cheu-tsz' is the first systematic thinker of China; he certainly deserves the honorary title, Tao-Kwoh-Kung, "Prince in the Empire of Reason," conferred upon him after death. Lao-tsz' may be deeper, Confucius more influential, Mencius more versatile, but none of them is more methodical, none of them is more precise and clear in comprehension than Cheu-tsz', and there is only one who, in this particular line, is his equal: his great disciple, Chu Hi.

Cheu-tsz' and his school have systematised and completed the philosophical world-conception of the Chinese. Whatever the ancient traditions may have been, they are now understood in China as interpreted by Cheu-tsz' and Chu-Hi.

Thomas Taylor Meadows says of Cheu-tsz' in his book, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions*, p. 358.

"It is in the spirit of coalescence, and with a full personal faith in a virtual identity of the teachings of the Sacred Books, that all Cheu-tsz' 's annotations and commentaries were conceived. This circumstance, which rendered it unnecessary for his countrymen, in adopting his views, to discard any part of what they had long so highly esteemed; together with the fact that his style combined, in a wonderful degree, simplicity with completeness and lucidity with eloquence, procured unmistakable supremacy for his writings soon after his death; and constituted him the definitive fashioner of the Chinese mind."

Cheu-tsz' has written a great number of works, but only two have come down to our times; they are the 太極圖 *T'ai Kih T'u*, or the diagram of the Great Origin, and the 通書 *T'ung Shu*¹ or "general treatise," which found an expositor in Chu-Hi (1130-1200 A. D.). Both books are excellently translated into German the former by Gabelentz,² the latter in part by W. Grube.

Cheu-tsz' condenses the contents of his treatise on the Grand Extreme in a diagram which is here reproduced. (See Fig. 12, p. 28.)

¹ 通 *T'ung*, general, universal, abstract, 書 *Shu*, writing, treatise, book
The *T'ung Shu* is the second chapter of the *Sing li ta tseuen*.

When at the request of Emperor Kanghi an abridged edition of the philosophical encyclopædia was published in 1717, both treatises of Cheu-tsz' were again embodied in the collection in their complete form together with Chu-Hi's annotations. This proves the high esteem in which these two thinkers are held in China, and, indeed, their opinions are recognised as the standard of Chinese orthodoxy.

² *T'ai Kih T'u des Tschou Tsi, Tafel des Urprincipes mit Tschu-Hi's Commen-*

The first sentence of the *T'ung Shu* reads:

誠 者 聖 人 之 本

"Truthfulness¹ [is] the holy² man's root."

What a deep and after all clear and true idea is expressed in these simple words! And yet Cheu-tsz' 's treatise will be disappointing to a Western reader, for in the progress of his exposition our philosopher interprets virtue in terms of the Yang and Yin system. He says in § 2:

"Great is the Ch'ien's 乾 origin. All things thence derive their beginning (It is) Truth's source indeed!"

乾 Ch'ien is the first combination of three Yang elements, (☰), and stands in contrast to 坤 Kw'un (☷), the pure combination of three Yin elements; the former symbolises "heaven, virile strength, manhood, creative power"; the latter, "earth, stability, womanhood, productiveness." This is one striking instance, among innumerable others that can be found in Chinese literature, of how deeply even the most powerful minds, with the sole exception of Lao-tsz', are entangled in the Yang and Yin philosophy that looms up at the mythical beginning of Chinese civilisation and still rules the thought of the Celestial Empire to-day!

CHU HI'S DOCTRINE OF LI 理 AND KI 氣 THE IMMATERIAL PRINCIPLE AND PRIMARY MATTER.

The mantle of Cheu-tsz' fell upon Chu Hi, also called Chu Fu Tsz', who lived 1130-1200 A. D. In his exposition of the clas-

ture. Dresden, 1876. The *T'ai Kih T'u* is the first chapter of the *Sing li ta tseuen* (literally, "nature principle in full completeness," or, better, "philosophical encyclopædia") published in 1415 by the third sovereign of the Ming dynasty.

¹ 誠 *ch'ing* = "truth," or "truthful," consists of "word" and "perfect." 者 *che*, meaning "thing," or "substance" changes its preceding word into a noun, just as does the English word "one" in such clauses as "the true one," "this one," or "that one." Accordingly the two words mean "the truth essence," the most appropriate translation of which seems to be "truthfulness."

² 聖 *shing* = "holy" or "saint," shows the characters "ear" and "to inform," denoting (as Williams has it) "one who on hearing knows the whole case, . . . intuitively wise and good, . . . holy, sacred, perfect."

sics and of Cheu-tsz''s works, Chu Hi¹ leaves no doubt about the monism of his philosophy. His works were published at the request of Emperor Kanghi in a collection called *Cheu-tsz' Tseuen Shu* (i. e., the complete writings of Cheu-tsz'), containing among other essays his treatise on *The Immaterial Principle (li) and Primary Matter (K'i)*,² the first sentence of which reads, according to Mr. Meadows's translation (*l. l.* p. 373):

"In the whole world there exists no primary matter 氣 (K'i), devoid of the immaterial principle; and no immaterial principle (li) apart from primary matter."

Williams in his *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language* explains (on p. 348) 氣 k'i as follows:

"Fume or vapor; . . . steam; ether; the aerial fluid; breath, air; vital force; . . . spirit, temper, feelings; a convenient and mobile term in Chinese philosophy for explaining and denoting whatever is supposed to be the source or primary agent in producing or modifying motion."

Williams adds that k'i is more material than li (order) and tao (reason); more external than sin 心 (heart) and is conditioned by its form (hing). It is opposed to chi 質 (matter),³ "as ζωή or spirit is opposed to the body it animates."

¹ See Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, s. v., Chu Hi, No. 79, and Chow Tun, No. 73; *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, pp. 552 et seq. and 609 et seq.; also Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, I., 683 et seq. Compare also Mr. Meadows's strictures on Dr. Medhurst's translation, *l. l.* pp. 372-374. Mr. Meadows's voluminous book is valuable in many respects. Having served as an interpreter in H. M. Civil Service, he knows the people and describes the conditions with great impartiality. However his criticism of other sinologists, even though correct, is too severe. He forgets the difficulties under which they labored and underrates the power of both religious and national prejudice. When we remember how greatly the nearest Western nations, such as the Germans and French, the English and Americans misunderstand one another, we must confess that the misrepresentations of sinologists are quite excusable.

The weakest part of Mr. Meadows's article on Chinese philosophy is what he is pleased to call "the unfailing pass-key to the comprehension of all difficult passages in the Chinese sacred books, as understood by the Chinese themselves," which consists in the proposition that the differences between *T'ai kih* (ultimate principle), *K'i* (ether), *Tao* (Logos), *Li* (world-order), *Sin* (heart), *Sing* (nature), *teh* (virtue), *t'ien* (heaven), *ming* (fate), *Ch'ing* (sincerity) "are purely of a nominal kind."

² "K'i" 氣 must not be confounded with "Kih" 極

³ The character 質 *chih* shows the radical "property" above which two taels appear. Thus it may be explained as "possessing the quality of weight"

理 *li* is defined by the same authority (on p. 519) as :

"The governing principle ; that which is felt to be right and does not depend on force ; reason ; directing principle ; principle of organisation."

性 *sing*, "nature," signifies the subjective disposition of things, never the objective phenomena of the universe. The word *sing* is composed of "heart" and "to bear, to grow," denoting that which is a manifestation of the inner character of existence.

心 *sin*, "heart," means not only the physical heart, which is regarded as the lord of the body and one of the senses, but also the core of things, as the wick of a candle, or the heart-wood of trees, and the ultimate seat of desire, the origin and source of all activity.

Chu Hi (according to Dr. Medhurst's translation) continues :

"When the primary matter is not collected and combined in form, there is no lodging-place for the immaterial principle.

"The primary matter relies on the immaterial principle to come into action, and wherever the primary matter is coagulated there the immaterial principle is present.

"No priority or subsequence can be predicated of the immaterial principle and primary matter, and yet if you insist on carrying out the reasoning to the question of their origin, then you must say that the immaterial principle has the priority; but the immaterial principle is not a separate and distinct thing ; it is just contained within the primary matter, so that were there no primary matter, then this immaterial principle would have no place of attachment.

"When the primary matter is brought into being, then afterwards the immaterial principle has some place whereon to rest. In regard to great things it is seen in heaven and earth, and with respect to small, in ants and emmets."

While dwelling on the truth that the immaterial principle is inseparable from primary matter, Chu Hi yet recognises the higher dignity and priority in importance of the former, but finding no word to express precedence or superiority (i. e., priority in rank) to anteriority, (i. e. priority in time), he says :

"... And it appears to be impossible to distinguish the priority or subsequence. If you insist on it, the immaterial principle is first, but you cannot say, to-day the immaterial principle is called into existence and to-morrow primary matter ; still there is a priority and a subsequence.

"Wherever the primary matter is collected, the immaterial principle is present ; but after all, the latter must be considered as the chief ; this is what is called the mysterious junction."

Mr. Meadows translates a passage on the problem of the priority of the *li* over the *K'i* as follows :

" Being asked whether the immaterial principle or primary matter first existed he (Cheu-tsz') said : The immaterial principle was never separated from primary matter ; but the immaterial principle is what is previous to form, while primary matter is what is subsequent to form."

Chu Hi perceives that he is dealing with an abstraction of the highest kind, an abstraction of the universal ; and we feel in the many repetitions which fill his treatise how he grapples with the problem, the solution of which he has in his mind without being able to find an adequate symbol to express it. Wherever he turns he sees inseparableness and distinctness. The immaterial principle is omnipresent in all things, and yet it is different from matter, in explanation of which Chu Hi says : " We must not consider the mud-diness of the stream to be the water."

The *li* or immaterial principle, resembles Kant's *a priori* or the purely formal,¹ the laws of which remain true not only of this actual world of ours, but also of any possible world, and even if nothing at all existed. Chu Hi attempts to express his idea thus :

" You cannot distinguish in this matter between existence and non-existence ; before heaven and earth came into being it was just the same."

The immaterial principle remains true for both existence and non-existence, but it cannot manifest itself without the existence of primary matter. Seen in this light, the last quotation will not appear contradictory to the following :

" Wherever the primary matter exists there is found the immaterial principle and where there is no primary matter there is also no immaterial principle."

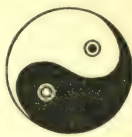
The immaterial principle is the natural order of the seasons, the principle of virtue in the moral man, the wisdom of the sage. It is, on the one hand, the mentality of sentient beings which makes comprehension possible, and on the other hand, the rationality of the universe, i. e., the cosmic order which renders the world intelligible. Chu Hi says :

¹It is what we define in the *Primer of Philosophy* (p. 79 et seq.) as " the rigidly formal."

"That which perceives is the immaterial principle of the mind ; and that which enables it to perceive is the intelligence of the primary matter."

The immaterial principle as it affects the Yang and Yin is symbolised by a circle in which light and darkness are evenly divided. Darkness contains the seed of light, and light contains the seed of darkness.

Chu Hi identifies the immaterial principle with Lao-tsz's 道 Tao and with Cheu-tsz' 's T'ai Kih. He says :



SYMBOL OF THE
SOURCE
OF EXISTENCE.

"The great extreme is merely the immaterial principle of heaven, earth, and all things ; speaking of it with reference to heaven and earth, then the great extreme may be said to exist within heaven and earth. Speaking of it with respect to the myriad of things, then amongst the myriad of things¹ each one possesses a great extreme.

"The great extreme is not an independent separate existence ; it is found in the male and female principles of nature, in the five elements, and in the myriad of things. . . . Should any one ask, what is the great extreme ? I should say, before its development it is the immaterial principle, and after its manifestation it is feeling ; thus for instance, when it moves and produces the male principle of nature, then it is feeling or passion.

"At the very first there was nothing, but merely this immaterial principle.

"From the time when the great extreme came into operation the myriad things were produced by transformation ; this one doctrine includes the whole ; it is not because this was first in existence and then that, but altogether there is only one great origin, which from the substance [abstract existence ; in-itself-ness] extends to the use [to its manifestation in reality], and from the subtle reaches to that which is manifest.

"Cheu-tsz' called it the extremeless or the illimitable, by which he meant the great noiseless, scentless mystery."

By "noiseless" and "scentless" is meant the incorporeal, i.e., that which is not perceived by the senses, but can only be comprehended by the mind—as, for instance, the truth of a mathematical theorem cannot be apprehended by any one of the senses, but is a matter of pure understanding. Thus Chu Hi says :

"The immaterial principle cannot be perceived [viz., by the senses] ; but, from the operations of the male and female principles of nature [viz. the purely formal

¹ See footnote belonging to Fig. 12 on p. 29.

science of Yang and Yin permutations] we become acquainted with it; thus the immaterial principle depends (for its display) on the male and female principles of nature.

"Should any one ask, what is the great extreme? I would say, the great extreme is simply the principle of extreme goodness and extreme perfection. Every man has got a great extreme; every thing has got a great extreme; that which Cheu-tsz' called the great extreme is the exemplified virtue of everything that is extremely good and extremely perfect in heaven and earth, men and things."

We would say, "it is every one's ideal," as Rückert expresses it:

*"Vor jedem steht ein Bild des, das er werden soll,
Und vor er es nicht ist, ist nicht sein Friede voll."*

[An image of what it ought to be lives in each creature's mind
So long as that is unattained, its peace it cannot find.]

We can scarcely appreciate the difficulties which Cheu-tsz' and Chu Hi had to overcome in the dualistic terminology of their national tradition. The term T'ai Kih (Great Extreme) dates back to earlier days, but the monistic conception derived from its application was new; and it was a triumph of philosophical thought which their inventors, considering the circumstances of the situation, had good reasons to prize highly. Chu Hi says:

"The great extreme is the immaterial principle of the two powers, the four forms, and the eight changes of nature; we cannot say that it does not exist, and yet there is no form or corporeity that can be ascribed to it. From this point is produced the one male and the one female principle of nature, which are called the two powers; also the four forms and the eight changes proceed from this, all according to a certain natural order, irrespective of human strength in its arrangement. But from the time of Confucius no one has been able to get hold of this idea. Until the time of Sháu Kangtsie, when this doctrine was explained, and it appeared very reasonable and pleasing. It may not therefore be treated with lightness, and should be more particularly inquired into."

In a word, the monistic school of Cheu-tsz' and Chu Hi are in the history of Chinese thought what Kant is in the Western world. They discovered that the Yang and Yin manipulations are what we would call the most abstract algebra of thought or the science of pure forms, embodying the universal and necessary laws of both the objective realm of existence and the subjective realm of man's mentality.

孝 FILIAL PIETY

European and American civilisation has less firm foundations in us as compared with the deep root which the Chinese view of life has struck in the souls of Chinamen. It is reflected in their thought,¹ in institutions, in the habits of their daily life, in their symbolism, in their language, and above all in their ethics which reflects their views of the relation of Yang to Yin, being in its noblest conception the completest submission of a child to the will of his father, a virtue which is called in Chinese 孝 *Hiao* or *Hsiao*.²

As an instance of the influence of the Yang and Yin philosophy upon the life of all nations that have ever felt the influence of the Chinese world-view, we state that the name of the greatest Japanese monthly is "The Great Yang"; which is translated by the editors by "The Sun." The flag of the Coreans shows the diagram of the symbol of the primordial source of existence (as it appears on p. 34) in blue and red colors, surrounded by the trigrams Ch'ien, K'an, Lî, and Kw'un, "☰ ☷ ☵ ☴."

The most important field in which the Yang and Yin philosophy exercises its influence is in the domain of ethics. The dualism that still lingers in Chinese thought finds its expression in the Chinese code of morals which always implies an external relation between two, an authoritative master and an obedient servant, the duty of the former being wisdom in government, and of the latter submission. One of the favorite treatises of Chinese literature, the booklet entitled *The Classic of Filial Piety*,³ sets forth the idea that "filial

¹ The Yih with its Yang and Yin is part and parcel of the mind of every educated Chinaman. Even Lao-Tsz', the greatest adversary of Confucian scholarship, says: "The ten thousand things are sustained by the Yin and encompassed by the Yang; and the K'i (the immaterial breath) renders them harmonious." (Ch. 42.)

As a thoroughly reliable description of Chinese life we recommend Prof. Robert K. Douglas's works, *Chinese Stories*, W. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1893, and *Society in China*, A. D. Innes & Co., London, 1894.

² The character *Hiao*, 孝, filial piety, shows a child supporting an old man.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. III., pp. 447-448. The book was written either by Tsang-tsz', the disciple of Confucius, or by one of Tsang-tsz' 's school.

devotion is the root of virtue." Filial devotion is said to be "the maxim of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the duty of man"

The idea of filial piety is widened into devotion as it applies to the five moral relations that obtain between man and man; viz., between (1) sovereign and subject, (2) parent and child, (3) elder brother and younger, (4) husband and wife, (5) friend and friend.¹

When asked by Tsang whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something higher, Confucius replied :

"Of all (creatures with their different) natures produced by Heaven and Earth man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven."

The higher monistic ethics, which becomes possible only on an advanced plane in the evolution of mankind, unites both the governor and the governed in one person and expects every one to be his own king, priest, and instructor, replacing the external relation by an internal relation. This principle of a monistic ethics was first proclaimed in the history of European civilisation by the reformers of the sixteenth century, who taught self-dependence and claimed the liberty of conscience. Liberty of conscience, self-reliance, the right of free inquiry and free thought abolish personal authority, not for the sake of anarchy, but to replace it by the superpersonal authority of justice, right, and truth.

Filial devotion remains submission, as we read in Chapter XI :

"When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority; when the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law; when filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These (three things) pave the way to anarchy."

Rebels are punished with brutal severity, yet there are frequent revolutions in China; and the Shu King goes so far even as to sanction them, provided they be successful. We read :

¹The fivefold relationship which constitutes the substance of Chinese ethics is supplemented by K'ung Ki's principle that good is the middle way between two extremes—a doctrine, which by Western critics has been censured as "the ethics of mediocrity." K'ung Ki was a grandson of Confucius.

"Heaven establishes sovereigns merely for the sake of the people; whom the people desire for sovereign, him will Heaven protect; whom the people dislike as sovereign, him will Heaven reject.

"[The Sovereign's] real way of serving Heaven is to love the people.

"When he fails to love the people Heaven will, for the sake of the people, cast him out."

Thus revolutions are regarded as ordeals in which success or failure signify the decision of heaven.

How the spirit of devotion is carried to the extreme, can be illustrated by many instances of Chinese habits, history, and stories. We quote one tale, which is at once typical and terse, from a popular book called *The Twenty-four Filials*:¹

"In the days of the Han dynasty lived Koh Kū, who was very poor. He had one child three years old; and such was his poverty that his mother usually divided her portion of food with this little one. Koh says to his wife, 'We are so poor that our mother cannot be supported, for the child divides with her the portion of food that belongs to her. Why not bury this child? Another child may be born to us but a mother once gone will never return.' His wife did not venture to object to the proposal; and Koh immediately dug a hole of about three cubits deep, when suddenly he lighted upon a pot of gold, and on the metal read the following inscription: 'Heaven bestows this treasure upon Koh Fū, the dutiful son; the magistrate may not seize it, nor shall the neighbors take it from him.'"²

The neglect of what Western nations would consider as the highest duties is frequently enjoined for the sake of parents; and in agreement with this code of morals, the Chinese Emperor of late concluded to yield to all the demands of the victorious Japanese only that the Empress dowager in Peking should not be obliged to be inconvenienced by a removal of the Imperial Court.

While on this important point our Western ideas of morality are different from those of the Chinese, we ought to consider that our American youths go to the other extreme. They can still learn from the Chinese, whose devotion to old parents is sometimes truly elevating and touching; and we have to add that one of the chief obstacles, although not the only one, to the introduction of Christianity into China are such words of Christ's as these:

二十四孝

² Quoted from Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, Vol. I., p. 539.

"If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethréen, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."—Luke, xiv, 26.

"I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."—Matth., x, 35.

The dualism of Chinese ethics finds expression in a rigid code of ceremonial forms. Who ever met an educated Chinese gentleman and was not struck by his extraordinary and almost painfully polite demeanor? How much stress is laid upon details in propriety, we can gather from the following injunction of courtesy toward visitors as quoted by Williams, in his *Middle Kingdom*, Vol. I., p. 540, from Chu Hi's "Juvenile Instructor" (*Siao Hioh*):

"Whoever enters with his guests, yields precedence to them at every door; when they reach the innermost one, he begs leave to go in and arrange the seats, and then returns to receive the guests; and after they have repeatedly declined he bows to them and enters. He passes through the right door, they through the left. He ascends the eastern, they the western steps.

"If a guest be of a lower grade, he must approach the steps of the host, while the latter must repeatedly decline this attention; then the guest may return to the western steps, he ascending, both host and guest must mutually yield precedence: then the host must ascend first, and the guests follow. From step to step they must bring their feet together, gradually ascending—those on the east moving the right foot first, those on the west the left."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 易 YIH.

We ask now, what is the original significance of the Yih King, and, without attempting to decide the problem, present some solutions which have been proposed by various scholars.

The oldest European interpretation of the Kwa comes from the pen of no less an authority than the great Leibnitz. On explaining, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des sciences* (1703, III., p. 85), the nature and advantage of the binary or dyadic system of numeration, which employs only the symbols 0 and 1, expressing 2 by 10, 3 by 11, 4 by 100, 5 by 101, 6 by 110, 7 by 111, etc., he makes reference to the Kwa of the Yih King, which he calls "cova."¹ He says:

¹ "Cova" is the same as "coua," "v" being equal to "u."

“Ce qu'il y a de surprenant dans ce calcul, c'est que cette arithmétique par 0 et 1 se trouve contenir le mystère des lignes d'un ancien roi et philosophe nommé Fohy, qu'on croit avoir vécu il y a plus de quatre mille ans, et que les Chinois regardent comme le fondateur de leur empire et de leurs sciences. Il y a plusieurs figures linéaires qu'on lui attribue. Elles reviennent toutes à cette arithmétique, mais il suffit de mettre ici la figure de huit Cova comme on l'appelle, qui passe pour fondamentale, et d'y joindre l'explication, qui est manifeste, pourvu qu'on remarque premièrement qu'une ligne entière — signifie l'unité ou 1, et secondement qu'une ligne brisée — — signifie le zéro ou 0.

							
000	100	010	110	100	101	110	111
0	1	10	11	100	101	110	111
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

“Les Chinois ont perdu la signification des Cova ou linéations de Fohy, peut être depuis plus d'un millénaire d'années ; et ils ont fait des commentaires là-dessus, où ils ont cherché je ne sais quels sens éloignés. De sorte qu'il a fallu que la vraie explication leur vint maintenant des Européens. Voici comment. Il n'y a guère plus de deux ans que j'envoyai au R. P. Bouvet, Jésuite français célèbre, qui demeure à Peking, ma manière de compter par 0 et 1, et il n'en fallut pas d'avantage pour le faire reconnaître que c'est la clef de figures de Fohy. Ainsi m'écrivant le 14. Novembre, il m'a envoyé la grande figure de ce prince philosophe qui va à 64, et ne laisse plus lieu de douter de la vérité de notre interprétation, de sorte qu'on peut dire que ce Père a déchiffré l'énigme de Fohy à l'aide de ce que je lui avais communiqué. Et comme ces figures sont peut-être le plus ancien monument de science qui soit au monde, cette restitution de leur sens, après un si grand intervalle de temps, paraîtra d'autant de plus curieuse.

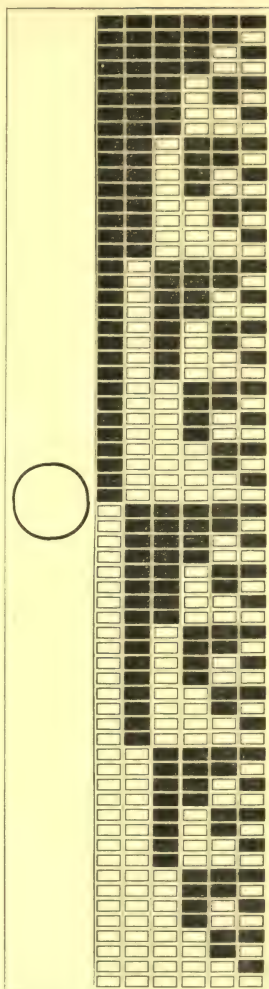
“Le consentement des figures de Fohy et de ma Table des Nombres se fait mieux voire lorsque dans la table on supplée les zéros initiaux, qui paraissent superflus, mais qui servent à mieux marquer la période de la colonne, comme je les y ai suppléés en effet avec des petits ronds pour les distinguer des zéros, et cet accord me donne une grande opinion de la profondeur des méditations de Fohy. Car ce qui nous paraît aisé maintenant, ne l'était pas dans ce temps éloigné.

“L'arithmétique binaire ou dyadique est en effet fort aisé aujourd'hui pour peu qu'on y pense, par ce que notre manière de compter y aide beaucoup, dont il semble qu'on retranche seulement le trop. Mais cette arithmétique ordinaire par dix ne paraît pas fort ancienne, au moins les Grecs et les Romains l'ont ignorée, et ont été privés de ses avantages. Il semble que l'Europe en doit l'introduction à Gerbert, depuis Pape sous le nom de Sylvestre II, qui l'a eu des Maures d'Espagne.

“Or comme l'on croit à la Chine que Fohy est encore auteur des caractères Chinois ordinaires, quoique fort altérés par la suite des temps : son essay d'arithmé-

0	0	0	0	0	0	= 0
0	0	0	0	0	1	= 1
0	0	0	0	1	0	= 2
0	0	0	0	1	1	= 3
0	0	0	1	0	0	= 4
0	0	0	1	0	1	= 5
0	0	0	1	1	0	= 6
0	0	0	1	1	1	= 7
0	0	1	0	0	0	= 8
0	0	1	0	0	1	= 9
0	0	1	0	1	0	= 10
0	0	1	0	1	1	= 11
0	0	1	1	0	0	= 12
0	0	1	1	0	1	= 13
0	0	1	1	1	0	= 14
0	0	1	1	1	1	= 15
0	1	0	0	0	0	= 16
0	1	0	0	0	1	= 17
0	1	0	0	1	0	= 18
0	1	0	0	1	1	= 19
0	1	0	1	0	0	= 20
0	1	0	1	0	1	= 21
0	1	0	1	1	0	= 22
0	1	0	1	1	1	= 23
0	1	1	0	0	0	= 24
0	1	1	0	0	1	= 25
0	1	1	0	1	0	= 26
0	1	1	0	1	1	= 27
0	1	1	1	0	0	= 28
0	1	1	1	0	1	= 29
0	1	1	1	1	0	= 30
0	1	1	1	1	1	= 31
1	0	0	0	0	0	= 32
1	0	0	0	0	1	= 33
1	0	0	0	1	0	= 34
1	0	0	0	1	1	= 35
1	0	0	1	0	0	= 36
1	0	0	1	0	1	= 37
1	0	0	1	1	0	= 38
1	0	0	1	1	1	= 39
1	0	1	0	0	0	= 40
1	0	1	0	0	1	= 41
1	0	1	0	1	0	= 42
1	0	1	0	1	1	= 43
1	0	1	1	0	0	= 44
1	0	1	1	0	1	= 45
1	0	1	1	1	0	= 46
1	0	1	1	1	1	= 47
1	1	0	0	0	0	= 48
1	1	0	0	0	1	= 49
1	1	0	0	1	0	= 50
1	1	0	0	1	1	= 51
1	1	0	1	0	0	= 52
1	1	0	1	0	1	= 53
1	1	0	1	1	0	= 54
1	1	0	1	1	1	= 55
1	1	1	0	0	0	= 56
1	1	1	0	0	1	= 57
1	1	1	0	1	0	= 58
1	1	1	0	1	1	= 59
1	1	1	1	0	0	= 60
1	1	1	1	0	1	= 61
1	1	1	1	1	0	= 62
1	1	1	1	1	1	= 63

BINARY SYSTEM OF LEIBNITZ.



EVOLUTION OF THE KWA, OR THE KWA EVOLVED FROM T'AI KIH.

It will be of interest to compare Leibnitz's binary numbers with Cheu-tsz'-'s design; the similarity among which will appear as soon as 0 is identified with the black and 1 with the white spaces.

tique fait juger qu'il pourrait s'y trouver quelque chose de considérable par rapport aux nombres et aux idées, si l'on pouvait déterrer le fondement de l'écriture Chinoise, d'autant plusqu'on croit à la Chine, qu'il a eu égard aux nombres en l'établissant. Le R. P. Bouvet est fort porté à pousser cette pointe, et très capable d'y réussir en bien de manières. Cependant je ne sais s'il y a jamais eu dans l'écriture Chinoise un avantage rapprochant de celui qui doit être dans une caractéristique que je projette. C'est que tout raisonnement qu'on peut tirer des notions, pourrait être tiré de leurs caractères par une manière de calcul, qui serait une des plus importants moyens d'aides de l'esprit humain."

Prof. Moritz Cantor,¹ disposes of Leibnitz's interpretation of the Kwa because "Mr. Duhalde had proved them to be projective drawings of the knotted cords." He adds that they must, according to Bouvet, be regarded, on account of their names, not as numbers, but as physical symbols, and explains Leibnitz's theory as exclusively due to his philosophical interpretation of the binary system, which was to him an evidence in favor of his conception of a creation from nothing or zero with the sole assistance of One or the unit. But Cantor seems to overlook that in this very respect the ancient Yang and Yin philosophy of the Chinese closely resembles Leibnitz's idea, whether we regard the Kwa as numbers, or as a binary system of such symbols as are still more general and indefinite. The fact of both their presence and their philosophical significance remains the same and cannot be doubted.

The first translation of the 易 Yih is in Latin. It was made by the Jesuit P. Regis with the assistance of some of his colleagues, and edited in two volumes by Julius Mohl.²

Prof. James Legge's translation is based upon the idea that the book in its main parts and originally was intended to be a kind of political testament of King Wen and the Duke of Cheu, enlarging on moral and social questions, but enigmatically written after the manner and fashion of diviners. He therefore tries to bring his mind *en rapport* with the mind of its authors and paraphrases the meaning of the disconnected words and sentences in the sense that he

¹ In his *Mathematische Beiträge zum Kulturleben der Völker*, Halle, 1863, p. 49.

² Y King, *Antiquitissimus Sinarum liber, quem ex latina interpretatione P. Regis aliorumque ex Soc. Jesu P. T., edidit Julius Mohl.* Stuttgartiæ et Tübingæ. 1834.

finds indicated in the text. He encloses his additions in parentheses, saying :

"I hope, however, that I have been able in this way to make the translation intelligible to readers. If, after all, they shall conclude that in what is said on the hexagrams there is often 'much ado about nothing,' it is not the translator who should be deemed accountable for that, but his original."

A peculiar conception of the Yih King has been propounded by P. L. F. Philastre, who lays much stress on the tradition that Fuh-Hi received his first idea of the Kwa by contemplating the starry heavens and believes that he discovered in the Kwa combinations a method of symbolising the astronomical lore of the ancient Chinese. His lucubration embodies translations of the most important Chinese commentaries.¹

Canon McClatchie published a translation of the Yih King in which he ventures to open its mysteries "by applying the key of comparative mythology." I have not seen it and quote only what Professor Legge has to say about it (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVI, p. xvii) :

"Such a key was not necessary and the author by the application of it, has found sundry things to which I have occasionally referred in my notes. They are not pleasant to look at or dwell upon, and happily it has never entered into the minds of Chinese scholars to conceive them."

A. Terrien de Lacouperie² believes that the Yih King is a mere vocabulary containing those word-symbols which the Bak families brought with them as a sacred inheritance of the Elamo-Babylonian civilisation.

P. Angelo Zottoli says of the Yih King in his *Cursus Literaturae Sinicae* :

"A. Terrien de Lacouperie believes that the old Chinese civilisation is an offshoot of the Elamo-Babylonian civilisation in the very stage of development that had been reached a little after the middle of the third millennium B. C., and claims that the hexagrams are the script which the Bak tribes, the oldest civilisers of China, carried with them to the new homes, and the Yih King is originally a dictionary of the ancient word-symbols with their lexicographical explanations, the mean-

¹*Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vols. VIII. and XXIII.

²*The Oldest Book of the Chinese, the Yi King and Its Authors*. London: D. Nutt, 270 Strand, 1892.

ing of which was later on misunderstood without losing the awe that naturally was attached to the book as embodying the wisdom of the sages of yore."

"The book consists of the figures of Fuh Hi, of the divinations of King Wen, of the symbols of the Duke of Cheu, and the commentaries of Confucius. From the permutations which the two elements in the composition of the hexagrams undergo it is called Yih (the permutator), or Yih King, the Book of Permutations. What, then, is this famous Yih King? It is, briefly, this. From the continuous or bisected quality of the lines, their position either at the bottom or in the middle or topmost, their mutual relation as being opposed and separated, or coming together, the body or form of the trigrams themselves; further, from the symbol or image of the trigrams, from the quality or virtue of the trigrams, sometimes from the difference of one hexagram as compared to another, a certain picture is developed and a certain idea is deduced containing something like an oracle that can be consulted by drawing lots, in order to obtain some warning fit for guidance in life or to solve some doubt. Such is the book according to the explanations of Confucius as handed down in the schools. Therefore, you must expect neither anything sublime or mysterious, nor anything unseemly or vile. I see in it rather a subtle play for eliciting moral and political instructions, such as can be found in the Chinese classics, obtrusive, plain, and natural. Since this book, as a reader of the original text will understand, has been employed for fortune telling, one expects to gain by it the highest happiness of life, mysterious communication with spirits and occult knowledge of future events. Therefore, the book appears as a magic revelation, as a perfect light, as throughout spiritual and conformable to the life of man. Hence the praises attributed to it by Confucius, although quite exaggerated, will be seen specially added in the Appendix of the book, if it is true at all as the common opinion goes, that he himself is the author of the Appendix."¹

Ch. de Harlez, the originator of the idea that the nature of the Yih King is lexicological, does not accept Lacouperie's theory of an Elamo-Babylonian origin of the Yih King. He says in the preface to his French translation of the Yih²:

"Notre système . . . nous fait voir dans le Yih un recueil mi-lexicologique, mi-philosophique de termes et de sentences, plein de raison et de sagesse."—P. 11.

There remains one more hypothesis on the nature of the Yih King which is by Dr. Heinrich Riedel, of Brooklyn, N. Y. He has given me much assistance in my own Chinese studies and I am inclined to believe that he has something to say on the subject that is

¹ Translated from the Latin. The original is quoted by Legge in his Preface to the *Yih King*, p. xviii.

² Published in 1889 by F. Hayer, Bruxelles, rue de Louvain, 108.

worth hearing. Since his observations have never been published, I deem it advisable, for the sake of sinology, to present some chips from his workshop.

Dr. Riedel regards the Yih as a calendar of the lunar year, being what the title of Cheu-tsz' 's book on the Yih indicated, a *T'ung Shu*, "a universal book," or "almanac," embodying everything in the domain of science, religion, ethics, and even sport that appeared of interest. *T'ung Shu* means "calendar," and $6 \times 64 = 384$ (the number of strokes in the hexagrams) is the number of days of the intercalary year. As to the hexagrams, Dr. Riedel insists that "the specific order of the sixty-four hexagrams which is carefully preserved and sacredly guarded by devices that remind us of the Massoretic precautions taken in regard to the Hebrew texts of the Bible and which has yet received little if any attention, is the soul and substance of the Yih King," and trusts to be able to prove that the circular device of hexagrams including the square represents "the problem of squaring the circle." Here are, in a condensed form, some points of his theory:

There is in Chinese authors a frequent substitution of symbols by homonyms; as Gabelentz says: "The ancient authors either through mistake or in emergency, or by sheer whim, used to replace the character of a word by another one which probably in their age had the same or a very similar sound." (*Gr. Ch. Gr.* p. 100.) And this must be expected to have taken place in the Yih King rather more freely than in other books. Now take the first sentence of the Yih King and replace it by homonyms as follows:

乾元亨利貞 見圓行理正

Both lines read nearly alike: "K'ien yuen hǎng li ching;" but the former means "K'ien, origin (and) progress determined by advantageousness," while the latter means "See the circle's path rectified by reason."

The aphorism belonging to the first (viz. the lowest) Kiu line of the first Kwa, which reads "Ts'ien lung wuh yung," Dr. Riedel

translates: "A hidden dragon through negation is action," which is meant to set forth the mathematical and logical powers of naught (o).

Legge is unable to bring sense into a passage in which robbery is declared to teach ethics (*Sacred Books of the East*, III., p. 203, § 48). The paragraph, however, becomes clear when we adopt Dr. Riedel's proposition to regard robbery as a game like chess and translate it by "latrunculi" or robbery-game. Burden-bearers, i.e. peasants or laborers, should be translated by "pawns." Other allusions that occur in the passage, such as "false moves," "leaving exposed," "attacking," "captured," remind us of our own chess-board terms. In addition, we meet in the Yih *passim* with generals, the tsz', i. e., sages or advisers, horses, carriages, and elephants.¹

Legge translates the aphorism of the second Luh line of the second Kwa thus:

"(The second line divided) [shows the attribute of] being straight, square, and great. (Its operation) without repeated efforts will be in every respect advantageous."

Dr. Riedel proposes a more literal translation:

"Rectify, [or] square greatly (viz. ever so much), not continuously employing naught, no gain."

The Yang and Yin lines are designated by *kiu* 九 and *luh* 六 two characters which ordinarily mean nine and six. Dr. Riedel claims with great plausibility, that they are employed to designate diameter and radius. *Kiu* means not only "nine," but also "to go to the end of; to go through; or, to bring together." It is a homonym with 𠄎, its inversion,² which means "to take hold of; to join; to connect." Further, *luh* means "six," and in analogy with 二 'rh, which means "two" and "to divide into two," *luh* means also "to divide into sixes" and then sextant, the sixth part of a circle or the radius which is equal to the chord of a sextant. This makes it probable that *kiu* in the Yih King means diameter-line; and *luh* radius line, which again are identified with the full line of Yang and the broken line of Yin.

¹ On the chess of the Chinese see Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, I., p. 827.

² 𠄎 *chui*, mentioned by Williams in his *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 413.

A passage quoted from K'ung Ngan Tsz' Quoh reads :

"The spirit tortoise carried a writing and methodically arranged divisions. In both respects it had *the digits up to nine*."

Comparing this with a passage in the Book of Three Characters¹ which declares that the five elements "have their origin in numbers," Dr. Riedel deduces from observations made on the carapace of a half-grown *Chrysemys picta*,² which on account of its abnormal number of inner and outer plates a Chinaman would class as a shan kwei, or spirit tortoise, the following writing of the nine digits as a hypothetical reconstruction of the Loh Shu in its substance :



The sum of the Kiu lines is 16, of the Luh lines 29.

The plates on the back of the tortoise yield the same numbers in the same proportion. There are sixteen large inner plates, while there are twenty-three small outer plates, and in addition we have three pairs of small ones that appear to be superimposed upon the three vertebral plates in the centre. The symbols of the five elements, as written on p. 21, yield sixteen long and twenty-nine short lines.

Now, by means of the same distribution of whole and broken lines amongst the nine digits, Dr. Riedel claims to have constructed "an anagram of the number π in one hundred and twenty-three decimal places, exhibiting the sixty-four Yih kwa in their specific order, placed in rows of eight each, from below upwards." The use of an anagram for the purpose of laying down a scientific truth at the time inaccessible, is by no means a device unheard of in the history of science; for in comparatively recent times such men as Roger Bacon, Galileo, and Huygens have done the same thing.

The spiritual tortoise accordingly is a *lusus naturae* which ap-

¹ 三字經 An English translation of this booklet is published in *The Open Court*, No. 412. The passage quoted above is characters 199-204.

² See Fig. 10 on p. 20.

pealed to the mathematical mind of the Chinese and caused them to see in it a spiritual being.

Dr. Riedel's theories concerning the digits on the spirit tortoise and his reconstruction of π are as bold as they are ingenious; refutation and belief seem equally difficult.

Dr. Riedel, in further attempts at proving the presence of the number π in the order of the Kwa of the Yih King, quotes from *Hi tsz'* (App. iii, 1, § 70) the sentence: "The Yih contains the great extreme," and says, "Now as the great extreme which is symbolised by a circle is not mentioned at all, and as we have in the Yih King proper only the mutations of Yang and Yin, the Luh and Kiu, the two primary forms (Liang $\hat{I}$), I conclude that they, if anything, must contain the number by which to calculate the circle" (i. e., the symbol of the great extreme). In addition to this argument, Dr. Riedel quotes the passage *Yih Nih Shu Ye*, i. e., "the mutations (are) a refractory number," "refractory number" being defined in *Shwoh Kwa* (App. V. 2) by "making acquainted with the future," which is the opposite to a number that has reference to the past, and is consummated or "compliant." "Accordingly," says Dr. Riedel, "a refractory number can, in the adduced passage, mean only what we call an irrational number."

In the beginning of the same Appendix we read: "The holy men of yore who composed the Yih, concealed their help in spiritual light and thus gave life to the milfoil stalks. They triangulated¹ the heaven, made twofold the earth, and relied upon calculation." All commentators and interpreters agree that in this sentence heaven means the circle, and earth the square. Dr. Riedel suggests that "making twofold the earth (viz., the square) indicates the primitive method of approximating π by circumscribed and inscribed squares."

The aphorism of the fourth hexagram declares:

"Novice, proceed. We do not seek the youthful and inexperienced. The youthful and inexperienced shall seek us. In its first (elements) divination is propounded. Further details (literally, the second and third) would be tedious. Tedious rules are not propounded."

¹ The ancient character for the verb "to triangulate" contains three triangles. Compare the English word "trigonometry."

As to the original meaning of "divination" in the minds of the Chinese, Dr. Riedel adduces from an English-Chinese dictionary the explanatory character *swan*, which denotes "the Chinese abacus," "to cipher," "a calculation," which goes far to prove that the fundamental meaning of "divination" is closely connected with mathematical, arithmetical, and logical determination.

In addition to all this it is, at least, a strange coincidence that the name of the dynasty *Cheu*, 周 after which the present book of Yih is called, means "periphery, curve, enclosure." The verb *cheu* is translated by Williams, "to make a circuit; to environ."

It cannot be my purpose to enter further into Dr. Riedel's arguments. His proposition is neither more nor less probable than any one of the other theories of the Yih King that have been advanced. Several of his observations appear to me correct. There is further a great probability that the ancient Chinese mathematicians tried to square the circle and approximate π . But Dr. Riedel's translations seem forced. Nor have I as yet been persuaded to adopt his main theory, that the Yih King is a calendar.

While the mathematical foundation of the Yih King figures (viz. the hexagrams) is both simple and obvious, the text remains to us a locked door to which the key is lost. Yet, though none of the interpretations be correct, we may rest assured that its original significance was a scheme similar to some of them in kind.

T'ien 天 AND SHANG TI 上帝 THE BELIEF IN A
PERSONAL GOD.

At first sight there does not seem to be much room in the Yang and Yin philosophy for a personal God. Nevertheless, the Chinese believe in 上帝 the Lord on High, who is the sole ruler of the universe and the sole God above all the mythological deities.

The divine power to which men look up as to their authority of conduct is commonly designated with the impersonal term 天 T'ien,¹ i. e., Heaven, which may be translated by Godhood or Deity.

1 天 T'ien consists of 大 "great" and 一 "one."

If conceived as a personal being T'ien is called Shang Ti, i. e. the High Sovereign, or the Lord on High.

The worship of Shang Ti must be very old, for we read that after a severe drought Ching Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, which began 1766 B. C., publicly paid religious worship to Shang Ti, confessing his offences, which were six. He had scarcely finished his confession when the rain fell in torrents. We must add that on this occasion the worship of Shang Ti is not related as an innovation, but as a means of deliverance that naturally suggested itself to a good ruler.¹

In the very oldest documents of the Shu King the term "Heaven" is used as is our deity, implying even the conception of a personal being. Thus we read in the Counsels of Kào-Yâo :

"The work [i. e., the bringing to an end] is Heaven's; but men must act for it."²

"From Heaven are the relationships with their several duties. From Heaven are the [social] distinctions with their several ceremonies.

"Heaven punishes the guilty.

"Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see. Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and overawe. Such connexion is between the upper and lower (worlds)."—*Sacred Books of the East*, III., pp. 55-56.

Quotations like these can be multiplied by the thousands. We have purposely limited them to the most ancient documents in the Shu King in order to prove that the idea of a supreme personal deity is not of modern date. At present the worship of Shang Ti is regarded as so holy that the emperor, as the High Priest of the nation, is alone permitted to perform the ceremony.

Peking, the capital of China consists of three cities: the Tartar city to the North, the Forbidden city with the imperial palaces and parks lying within the Tartar city, and the Chinese city to the South. In the southern part of the Chinese city is a park of about a square mile containing the Temple of Heaven and the Altar³ of Heaven,

¹ See Williams's *The Middle Kingdom*, II., p. 154.

² Or better: "Consummation is Heaven's, but men must work for it."

³ We retain this traditional translation "altar," although it is misleading since it suggests the erroneous idea that it must be an altar such as we see in Catholic churches or as it was used by the ancient Greeks.

which are to the Chinese the most sacred spots on earth. The Temple of Heaven (or more correctly, "the Altar of praying for grain") is a triple marble terrace, twenty-seven feet in height, surrounded with marble balustrades and crowned with a temple which rises to the height of ninety-nine feet. The three terraces and the temple are circular. The symmetry of the proportions renders it most beautiful; its dome imitates in shape and color the vault of heaven, and as the round windows are shaded by blinds of blue glass-rods strung together, the entering sun casts an azure light upon the rich carvings and paintings in the inside. The same park in which the Temple of Heaven stands, contains the Altar of Heaven, which is enclosed by an outer square wall and an inner circular wall; and it is here that the emperors of China at the time of our Christmas have been in the habit, from time immemorial, of worshipping 上帝 Shang Ti, "the Lord on High," or as the Emperor Kanghi expressed himself: "the true God." The Altar of Heaven (a picture of which forms the frontispiece to the first volume of Williams's *Middle Kingdom*) is described by Williams as follows¹:

"It is a beautiful triple circular terrace of white marble, whose base is 210, middle stage 150, and top 90 feet in width, each terrace encompassed by a richly carved balustrade. A curious symbolism of the number three and its multiples may be noticed in the measurements of this pile. The uppermost terrace, whose height above the ground is about eighteen feet, is paved with marble slabs, forming nine concentric circles—the inner of nine stones inclosing a central piece, and around this each receding layer consisting of a successive multiple of nine until the square of nine (a favorite number of Chinese philosophy) is reached in the outermost row. It is upon the single round stone in the centre of the upper plateau that the Emperor kneels when worshipping Heaven and his ancestors at the winter solstice."

This round stone, we must remember, is the symbol of the T'ai Kih, ○, the ultimate ground of being. Williams continues:

"Four flights of nine steps each lead from this elevation to the next lower stage, where are placed tablets to the spirits of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the Year God. On the ground at the end of the four stairways stand vessels of bronze in which are placed the bundles of cloth and sundry animals constituting a part of the sacrificial offerings. But of vastly greater importance than these in the matter of

¹See Williams's *Middle Kingdom*, I., 76-77, and *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, by Du Bose, New York, 1887 (pp. 57-64).

burnt-offering is the great furnace, nine feet high, faced with green porcelain, and ascended on three of its sides by porcelain staircases. In this receptacle, erected some hundred feet to the southeast of the altar, is consumed a burnt-offering of a bullock—entire and without blemish—at the yearly ceremony. The slaughter-house of the sacrificial bullock stands east of the North Altar, at the end of an elaborate winding passage, or cloister of seventy-two compartments, each ten feet in length."

Such is the religious and popular conception of Shang Tî, which is as deeply rooted in the Chinese mind, and perhaps more deeply than is the God-idea in the West. But just as Western philosophers translate the God-idea of religion into a philosophical principle, (I mention Hegel's Absolute, Schopenhauer's Will, Fichte's Moral World-Order, Spinoza's definition of Substance, etc.,) so the educated Chinese speak of Lao-tsz's Tao or World-Logos, of Cheu Tsz's T'ai Kih or the ultimate ground of existence, and of Chu Hi's Li or immaterial principle. Chu Hi touches upon the problem of the personality of God in his expositions on the immaterial principle and primary matter. He says after quoting three passages from the classics in which the terms Shang Ti and T'ien (the Lord on High and Heaven) imply the idea of a personal God:

"All these and such like expressions, do they imply that above the azure sky there is a Lord and Ruler who acts thus, or is it still true that heaven has no mind, and men only carry out their reasonings in this style?

This seems to imply that his conception of the k'i implies personality; but he adds:

"I reply, these three things are but [expressions of] one idea; it is that the immaterial principle of [the cosmic] order is such.

"The primary matter, in its evolutions hitherto, after one season of fulness has experienced one of decay, and after a period of decline, it again flourishes; just as if things were going on in a circle. There never was a decay without a revival."—*Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII., p. 555.

There is an extensive literature on the question; for some Christian missionaries have objected to the translation of Shang Ti by God and God by Shang Ti, proposing other words in its place.¹

¹See *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. XVII., pp. 17-53, 57-89 ("Essay on the Term for Deity," by William J. Boone, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church); *ib.* pp. 105-133, 161-187, 209-242, 265-310, 321-354 ("Chinese Term for Deity,"

The controversy began with the Roman Catholic missions. The Jesuit Ricci, an unusual missionary genius, who rendered the Chinese government so many valuable services that he commanded the Emperor's highest respect and unbounded confidence, had drawn up rules for his Christian converts in which he permitted certain Chinese rites, such as honoring the memory of Confucius and of ancestors, justifying these acts by an explanation of their purely secular significance. Ricci at the same time translated, as a matter of course, the word "God" with Shang Tî, and his methods were silently approved in Rome.

Morales, a Spanish Dominican, however, jealous of the great success of his Jesuit brethren, denounced Ricci for pandering to idolatry. The propaganda condemned Ricci's methods as sinful, and Pope Innocence confirmed the sentence in 1645. The Jesuits remonstrated and succeeded. Pope Alexander VI. issued another decree, in which, without directly revoking his predecessor's decision, he sided with Ricci's policy,¹ in agreement with which, in 1665, the Jesuits drew up forty-two articles. The Dominicans did not let things rest here; Navarette, one of their order, renewed the old denunciations, and Bishop Maigrot, an apostolic vicar living in China, issued a mandate in which he declared that "T'ien" signified nothing more than "the material heaven," and that the Chinese customs and rites were idolatrous. The Jesuits applied to the Emperor of China for an authentic explanation of the significance of the words for God and of the Chinese rites, whereupon Kanghi the Emperor declared (in 1700) that T'ien meant the true God, and the ceremonies of China were political.

But the efforts of the Jesuits to influence the Pope failed; Pope Clement XI. confirmed the mandate of Bishop Maigrot in a bull (published in 1703) in which the words T'ien and Shang Tî were

by Dr. W. H. Medhurst); *ib.* pp. 357-360 ("A Few Plain Questions by a Brother Missionary"); and *ib.* pp. 489 et seq., 545 et seq., and 601 et seq. ("Dr. Medhurst's Reply to Bishop Boone").

¹Ricci's "Divine Law" is published in an unabridged form in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, 1667.

China in the 16th Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583-1610.

rejected as pagan, while the expression T'ien Chu, i. e. Lord of Heaven, was approved of.

From these days the rapid decline of the Roman Catholic missions in China begins. Ricci's doctrines were not countenanced in Rome, and Maigrot's followers were persecuted by the Chinese government.

Among Protestant missionaries the Rev. Dr. Boone proposes to translate God by Shin = Spirit,¹ and takes the field against all those who use the terms Shang Tî or T'ien; but he is opposed by the majority of his colleagues, Dr. Medhurst, Sir George Staunton, Dr. Bowring, Mr. Dotty, and Professor Legge.

Prof. James Legge has written a learned discussion on the subject²; adducing innumerable passages in corroboration of his views. In his introduction to the Shu King he quotes Tâi T'ung's dictionary in defining the meaning of the word "Tî." Tâi T'ung says:

"Tî is the honorable designation of lordship and rule, therefore Heaven is called Shang Tî; the Elementary Powers are called the five Tî; and the Son of Heaven—that is, the Sovereign—is called Tî."

Professor Legge adds:

"Here then is the name Heaven, by which the idea of Supreme Power in the absolute is vaguely expressed; and when the Chinese would speak of it by a personal name, they use the terms Tî and Shang Tî;—saying, I believe, what our early fathers did, when they began to use the word God.

"Tî is the name which has been employed in China for this concept for fully five thousand years. Our word God fits naturally into every passage where the character occurs in the old Chinese Classics. It never became with the people a proper name like the Zeus of the Greeks. I can no more translate Tî or Shang Tî by any other word but God than I can translate zan 人 by anything else but man."

The general belief that the Chinese are obstinately opposed to Christianity and Christian ethics is a great error. The Chinese are opposed only to the contempt that is commonly shown to Chinese thought and tradition. In spite of all the missionary efforts of Christians, the Chinese know of Christianity as little as, or even less than, Western nations know of Confucius, Lao-tsz', and Buddha. How

神

² *The Notions of the Chinese Concerning God and Spirits*, Hong Kong, 1852.

deeply the simple story of Jesus and his preachings of love and charity can impress the Chinese mind, if it is told in a truly Chinese way, without identifying Christianity with beef-eating or the opium trade, can be learned from the fact that the Tai Ping revolution, which shook the throne of the Celestial Empire, was conducted by native Christians who could no longer stand the persecutions of the Confucian authorities. Hung Sew Tseuen, a simple schoolmaster, who in his youth had seen visions entrusting him with a religious mission, read the Gospel, and, being impressed with its moral truths, baptised himself and began to preach Christ's ethics of good-will toward all. He was discharged and persecuted because he refused to pay the customary worship to Confucius; but he continued to preach until (a Chinese Oliver Cromwell) he saw himself at the head of a powerful army; and had the English not helped to overthrow him, he might have founded a Christian dynasty. During this rebellion the English did not even know that the rebels were Christians. So little were they familiar with the affairs of the interior of China!

Hung Sew Tseuen is described in *The Chinese and General Missionary Gleaner* as "of ordinary appearance, about five feet four or five inches high, well built, round faced, regular featured, rather handsome, about middle age, and gentlemanly in his manners."

Thomas Taylor Meadows, Chinese interpreter in H. M. Civil Service, has published a detailed account of the Tai Ping revolution¹ in his book, *The Chinese and Their Rebellions*, London, 1856. He says on page 193:

"My knowledge of the Chinese mind, joined to the dejected admissions that Protestant missionaries of many years' standing occasionally made of the fruitlessness of their labors, had convinced me that Christianity, as hardened into our sectarian creeds, could not possibly find converts among the Chinese, except here and there perhaps an isolated individual. Consequently when it was once or twice rumored that the large body of men who were setting Imperial armies at defiance 'were Christians,' I refused to give the rumor credence. It did not occur to me that the Chinese convert, through some tracts of a Chinese convert, might either fail to see, or (if he saw them), might spontaneously eliminate the dogmas and congealed forms of merely sectarian Christianity, and then by preaching simply the great religious truth of One God, and the pure morality of Christ's Sermon on the

¹ See *The Open Court*, Nos. 546, 547, and *N. Am. Rev.*, Vol. LXXIX, p. 158

Mount, obtain numbers of followers among people disgusted with the idolatry and the immorality that they and those around them were engulfed in. As we have seen above, this was actually the case with Hung Sew Tseuen."

LAO-TSZ' 老子 AND CONFUCIUS 孔子

The Yang and Yin conception of the ancient Chinese has exercised a dominating influence upon all Chinese thinkers¹, with the sole exception of Lao-tsz', who lived at the end of the sixth century before Christ. Lao-tsz's 道德經 *Tao-Teh-King* ("the Classic on Reason and Virtue," that wonderful booklet on 道 *Tao*, i. e., the Path or Method, the Word or Reason, the Logos, that was in the beginning and on 德 *Teh* virtue,² propounding an ethics that repudiates all self-assertion, closely resembling the injunctions of both Buddha and Christ), stands alone in the whole literature of China. It is not less monistic than the doctrines of the T'ai Kih, but less rigid, less *a priori*, less self-sufficient. It would have served the Chinese better than the Confucian philosophy.

Williams defines 道 *tao*, as follows:

"A road, path, or way; . . . a principle, a doctrine, that which the mind approves; used in the classics in the sense of the right path in which one ought to go either in ruling or observing rules; rectitude or right reason; in early times, up to 500 A. D., the Buddhists called themselves tao-yan, i. e., men (seeking for) reason [enlightenment], or intelligent men, denoting thereby their aspiration after 'pu-ti' (Sanskrit *bodhi*), intelligence; the Reason or Logos of the rationalists" [the so-called Taoists].³ . . . [As a verb *tao* means] "to lead, to direct, to go in a designated path; to speak, to converse."

¹On the literature of China, see Schott's "Entwurf einer Beschreibung der chinesischen Litteratur, gelesen in der Akademie der Wissenschaften," 1850, and published in the *Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* in 1853, pp. 293-418.

²德 is a combination of the three radicals "to go," "straight," and "heart."

³The Taoists who regard themselves as followers of Lao-tsz' have distorted their master's doctrines beyond recognition. The Tao religion is best characterised in "The Book of Rewards and Punishments," translated in full only into French by Stanislaus Julien under the title *Le livre des récompenses et des peines*. Paris, 1835. See also *Confucianism and Taoism*, by Prof. Robert K. Douglas.

The character 道 *tao*, is composed of "to go" and "head," denoting "marching ahead."

We are told that Confucius visited Lao-Tsz', who, being by half a century his senior, must then have been about eighty years old. While Confucius propounded the maxims of justice, the old philosopher urged the principle of good-will toward every one, saying :¹

"Recompense injury with kindness."

Confucius, unable to fathom Lao-tsz' 's meaning, replied :

"With what then will you recompense kindness ? Recompense injury with justice (punishment), and recompense kindness with kindness."

Lao-tsz' propounds the gist of his ethics in § 49 of the Tao-Teh-King, where he says :

"The good I would meet with goodness. The not-good I would also meet with goodness ; for thus I actualise goodness.² The faithful I would meet with faith. The not-faithful would I also meet with faith ; for thus I actualize faith (throughout)."

Lao-tsz' objected to the very basis of Confucian morality. Confucius expected to make people good by teaching them propriety; if they were but respectful to parents and superiors, if they brought sacrifices to the shrines of their ancestors, and observed the appropriate rules and ceremonies, mankind would become moral. Lao-tsz' exhibited an undisguised contempt for externalities and ancestor-worship. He demanded purity of heart, emptiness of desire, and a surrender of all self-display, in imitation of the great Tao (Reason), which serves all without seeking its own.³

Sz' Ma Ts'ien,⁴ who lived about 163-85 B. C., reports on the authority of Chwang-tsz' (about 330 B. C.) that Confucius in his interview with Lao-tsz', showed himself overawed by reverence for the wisdom of the ancient traditions. Lao-tsz' said :

¹ John Chalmer's *The Speculations of the Old Philosopher, Lau-tsz'*, p. xviii.

² We prefer here the reading "*teh*, obtain," for the more common version "*teh*, virtue."

³ See also Douglas's *Confucianism and Taoism*, pp. 176 et seq.

⁴ Sz' Ma Ts'ien's record of Lao Tze has been published by Gabelentz in his *Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Grammatik*, pp. 111 et seq., and has also been incorporated in the author's edition of *Lao Tze's Tao Teh King*, Chinese-English.

"Lord, of whom you speak, the men and their bones, I suppose, have altogether rotted away. Their words only are still extant. Moreover, if a sage find his time, he rises; if he does not find his time, he wanders about like a P'ung plant [which is described by the commentators to be a plant, growing on the sand and easily carried about by the wind]. I have heard, a wise merchant hides [his treasures] deeply, as if [his house or safe] were empty. A sage of perfect virtue gives himself the appearance as though [he were] simple-minded 愚 *yü*.¹

"Give up your proud spirit, your many wishes, your external appearance with your exaggerated plans. These all are of no advantage to the sage's person. This is what I have to communicate to you, sir; that is all."

Sz'-Ma-Ts'ien continues:

"Confucius went; and he said to his disciples: 'Of the birds I know that they can fly, of the fishes I know that they can swim, of the beasts I know that they can run. For the running, one makes nooses; for the swimming, one makes nets; for the flying, one makes arrows. As to the dragon, I do not know how he rides upon wind and clouds up to heaven. To-day I saw Lao-tsz'. Is he perhaps like the dragon?'"

Confucius was more congenial to his countrymen than Lao-tsz', for he was more typically Chinese. Although his life had been an unbroken chain of disappointments, Confucius succeeded after his death in becoming the moral teacher of the Chinese people. His agnostic attitude in metaphysics and religion which neither affirms nor denies the existence of a beyond, of God, or gods, and of ghosts, but avoids investigating the matter, his unbounded reverence for the past, his respect for scholarship and book-learning, his ethics of traditionalism, which implies an extreme conservatism, his exaggeration of propriety, his ceremonialism, and above all his ideal of submission to authority have more and more become national traits of the Chinese nation.

What a pity that the weakness of China is an exaggerated virtue; it is reverence run mad—a virtue in which America is as much deficient as China is in excess.

It was characteristic of a typical Chinaman like Confucius that

¹ Gabelentz translates 愚 *yü* by "dumm." The character contains the symbols denoting "monkey" and "heart or mind." See Williams's *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, p. 1120.

he should have admired the Yih King solely on account of its age, because it came down to him from the sages of yore. He said :

"Should a few more years be granted to me, I shall have applied fifty to studying the Yih and thereby could be free from erring greatly."—*Lün Yü*, VII., 16.¹

We know much more about Confucius than about any other Chinese philosopher, emperor, or saint, but it appears that he was more of a moral teacher than a philosopher or mathematician, and it is probable that the Yih King was to him a book with seven seals, the unintelligibility of which fascinated him.

Having impressed upon the nation his personality, Confucius lived on in the souls of his countrymen ; and, following their master's injunction, the Chinese continued to study the Yih King without finding the solution of its problems. Instead of avoiding grave mistakes, they committed the gravest one : they relied upon traditional authority and ceased to be self-dependent. Instead of deciphering the eternal revelation of truth that surrounds us in the living book of nature and of our individual experiences, they pondered over the secret meanings of the holy Yih King ; and even to-day there are many among them who believe that the Yih King contains all the wisdom, physical, moral, and metaphysical, that can be conceived by any of the sages of the world.²

The mistake of the Chinese is natural and perhaps excusable, for it is founded upon a profound, although misunderstood and misapplied, reverence for the great sages who laid the cornerstone of their civilisation. We, as outsiders, can easily appreciate the merits and reject the errors of the fundamental principles of Chinese thought ; but not all of us are conscious of the fact that in many respects we too suffer from an exaggerated reverence for traditionalism.

¹Such is the translation according to Dr. Riedel, which, after a comparison with the original, I find, so far as I can judge, as literal as possible. Professor Legge translates : "If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to," etc.

²The claim that the Yih contains all science should be interpreted in the same sense as we might declare that logic contains all possible rules of thought, and the multiplication-table is the essence of all possible numerical relations.

CONCLUSION.

Whatever may be the solution of the mystery of the Yih King, it is almost certain that the Chinese themselves do not understand it. Thus in spite of the simplicity of their philosophy of permutations, as we may briefly call the theory of constructing a world-conception from Yang and Yin elements, all their thinking, planning, and yearning is dimmed by mysticism; and the vain hope of divination fills their minds with superstitious beliefs which makes them, on the one hand, slavishly submissive to the various evils of life, and, on the other hand, self-satisfied in the belief that their sages alone are in possession of the philosophers' stone. All this renders the Chinese unfit to grasp the significance of reality, and abandons them almost hopelessly to the mercy of their own barbarous institutions, such as their antiquated penal laws and prison practices, extortionate taxation, and the arbitrary government system, to which they patiently submit.

Patience is a virtue which is much admired in China and highly praised in prose and verse, as the basis of self-control, domestic peace, and good government. We read in the famous Pih Jin Ko, the "Ode on Universal Patience":¹

"This song of patience universal,
Of universal patience sings.

Can one be patient, summer is not hot;
Can one be patient, winter is not cold.

Can one be patient, poverty is yet happy;
Can one be patient, long life may yet be protracted.

With impatience, little evils change to great;
With impatience, a good nature at length becomes wolfish.

Kow Tseên tasted gall, and patiently waited for revenge;
Tan of Yen, from want of moderation, in the end was lost and perished.

Sze Tih, when spit upon in the face, patiently let it dry;
Tih Chaou, for want of patience, was a very dunce.

¹ See *Chinese Repository*, Vol. IX., p. 48, where the original Chinese is published together with an English translation.

The benevolent endure what other men can hardly bear ;
The wise submit to what others never would endure.

To repress anger and restrain the passions is the square of patience ;
To wear the petticoat,¹ and be humble, is the rule of patience.

Patience is the watchword for laying the foundation of perfection ;
Patience is the watchword for forming the root of virtue.

Patience is the watchword to succeed among barbarians and savages ;
Patience is the watchword to rule the violent and obstinate.

Can one bear toil and labor, one will have a superabundance :
Can one refrain from wild excess, one will be free from violent disease.

Can one forbear tattle, one will avoid slander ;
Can one forbear strife and contention, one dissipates hatred and resentment

Can one submit to abuse and raillery, one shows his caliber ;
Can one bend to thorough study, one accumulates learning.

Once patient, all blessings come in company ;
Once patient, every woe is burnt to ashes."

The Chinese government, and with it the Chinese nation, seem to be at present in a pitiable plight ; and, indeed, their empire is like a Colossus of brass on clay feet.

Nevertheless, there is at the foundation of the Chinese civilisation and of the Chinese national character a nucleus of moral worth and intellectual capabilities which may come to the front again. To conquer China in war may be easy enough, but to compete with her children in the industrial pursuits of peace may prove impossible. The conqueror often succumbs to the less noisy but more powerful virtues of the conquered. Thus Greece overcame Rome and the Saxons Anglicised the Normans. When the walls break down which separate China from the rest of the world so as to give the Chinese a chance of learning from us all they can, it is very doubtful what the result of a free competition with the Chinese will be. Their imperturbable patience, their endurance, their steadfast character, their pious reverence, their respect for learning,

¹ This phrase means "to be submissive to authority, as a wife ought to be to her husband," being the reverse of a well-known expression in English slang.

should not be underrated. If these virtues are but turned in the right direction and tempered by that breadth of mind which is indispensable for progress, the Chinese will soon recover ; and nothing is more apt to produce a national rebirth than hard times, trials, and humiliations.

China is offered in her recent misfortunes the chance of a spiritual rebirth. Should she avail herself of this opportunity, she would, with her four hundred millions of inhabitants and her untold virgin resources, at once take a prominent rank among the nations of the earth ; and her civilisation might become strong enough to influence and modify our own.

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Since the first publication of this article, which appeared in *The Monist*, Vol. VI., No. 2, in January, 1896, the author has in many instances adopted other transcriptions of Chinese words which remain unaltered in this new edition. For the assistance of the uninitiated reader we mention especially that the words here spelled *Cheu* (viz., the dynasty and Cheu Tsze), *K'i* (vitality or breath of Life), *K'i* (the extreme, or ultimate ground of existence), and *Sze-Ma-Ts'ien* have been transcribed *Cho*, *Ch'i*, *Chi*, and *Sze-Ma-Ch'ien* in the author's Chinese-English edition of Lao-Tze's *Tao-Teh-King*. Further, the author would now prefer the spelling *Cho-Tze* to *Cheu-Tsze*. The words *Fuh-Hi* and *Yih* are transcribed by Samuel Wells Williams *Fu-I* and *I*, by Sir Thomas Wade *Fu-I* and *Yi*.

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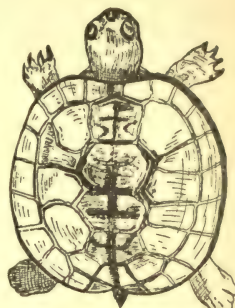
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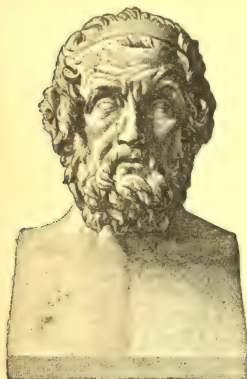
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